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1908

LANCASTER, PA.

1908

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LAWCRAFT COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
COLLECTIVE MEMORIES
OF A COUNTRY TOWN
1850-1900
EDWARD H. LAW
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1900

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BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY 3, 1908.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

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VOL. XII. NO. 1.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1908.

The Birth of Lancaster County

The earliest records bring us who have left as yet evidence of their residence in what is now Lancaster county were those ancient Indians who carved the pictures upon the rocks of the Susquehanna River and

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The Birth of Lancaster County

The earliest human beings who have left us any evidence of their residence in what is now Lancaster county were those ancient Indians who carved the pictures upon the rocks of the Susquehanna River and on the rocks in and about adjacent streams. The United States Government works and investigations declare that these rock pictures were made by the early Algonquin Indians.¹ This makes them much earlier than the time of our Conestoga and other tribes of Indians. These ancient rock-carving Indians thus may have been here before Columbus discovered America. It may have been a thousand years ago. But that they lived here is certain, and the pictures prove it.

Next in order, before the earliest colonization of which history tells us—that at Jamestown, in 1607—there is some evidence of a temporary colony which may have extended into the territory now Lancaster county, about 1526. About that time, John Fiske tells us, Lucas Vasquez d'Ayllon came from Hispaniola, and “tried the Chesapeake Bay” in search of the northwest passage, and “obtained a grant and began to build a town.”² But that town was likely south of the Pennsylvania line.

Then next, about 1607-8, both Henry Hudson and Captain John Smith were very near what is now Lancaster county; but, perhaps, not

¹United States Report on Ethnology, 1882-3, p. 47.

²Fiske's Discovery of America, vol. 2, p. 490.

in it. The former ran aground at the upper end of Delaware Bay, as he tells us in his log or sea diary, and went back to the sea, and the latter, Captain Smith, in his "General Historie of Virginia," says: "At the end of Chesapeake Bay it divides into four branches. The best cometh from the northwest from the mountains, but, although canoes can go a day's journey or two up it, we could not get two miles up it with our boat for rocks." But they went by land four leagues, or twelve miles, from the bay along the river. Smith and his party were in search of "White's colony."³ He visited the Susquehannocks.⁴ According to the marks on Smith's map, he was not north of what is the Mason & Dixon line.

An Early Visitor.

But though Capt. John Smith likely did not actually explore what is now Lancaster county soil, it seems morally certain that a Frenchman named Etiienne Brule, in 1615 or 1618, did travel through the Susquehanna river valley. An account of this may be found in a note, page 291 of Vol. 5, of the Jesuit Relations, that splendid history of seventy-two volumes made up of the diaries and doings of the Jesuits as they wrote them on the spot. It is there stated that Brule was with Champlain and that Champlain sent him among the Hurons, and that the Hurons in turn sent him among their relatives, the Susquehannocks. Brule told Champlain that he explored what is the Susquehanna valley to the sea, which Slafter says meant to the Bay of Chesapeake. This is the earliest

³Smith's Historie of Virginia, vol. 1, pp. 118, 119, 121, 183.

⁴Smith's Historie of Virginia, vol. 1, p. 182.

visit of a white man to our great Susquehanna valley that is known.

It will be a matter of curious interest to us, I trust, to know that nearly half a century before Penn appeared practically the whole of what is now Lancaster county was sold by the natives—first in 1637 to the English Indian trader, Clayborne, and next to the Swedes, in 1638, which latter sale they confirmed in 1646. The sale to Clayborne is set forth as including the land from the source to the mouth of the Susquehanna river and twelve leagues on each side, which is about forty miles on each side. The grantors were the King and the "Great Men" of the Susquehannocks; and a writing was drawn up in the nature of a deed. All this may be found in Vol. 3, of Maryland Archives, p. 66. The next sale, that to the Swedes, is set forth in Campanius, p. 23, and it included the lands from the Delaware to the Susquehanna, from the mouth of the latter river up to the falls. But these titles both gave way to later English titles, etc.

The First Indian Traders.

This also suggests to us that it is error to say the first Indian traders in this section were French traders. Clayborne traded here in 1637 and earlier; and as early as 1638 (and for many years afterwards) the Swedes, though not living here, came to trade with our Indians, making the journey twice a year, as Campanius tells us, pp. 122 and 123, and also Acrelius, pp. 43 and 47; and on page 23 Acrelius says that a line of posts marking the Swedes' boundary were set in the ground and could be seen sixty years afterwards. Therefore, at this date there was fur trade between the Indians and the whites in this section.

We see the Susquehannock Indians were the inhabitants of the lower part of what is now Lancaster county about and before the date last mentioned.

From 1638 to 1650 the Dutch and Swedes pushed up along the Schuylkill and in parts of Northern Delaware; but I cannot find that any of them came into what is now our county to settle; they traded here, however. In 1667 the Shawanese settled on Pequea Creek.

In 1683 William Penn journeyed to our region and visited the Susquehannocks, now called Conestogas, in Manor township, near Turkey Hill.^a Absolutely conclusive proof of this seems to be wanting, but there are a dozen persuasive evidences of it.

Earliest White Settlers.

As to the first whites living here, the earliest reference I can find is a passage in Volume 1 of the Colonial Records, page 299, viz.: "The Governor gave account of letters he received from the lower counties; also of a letter he had received from one Captain Le Tort, a Frenchman, living up in the country." This was in 1689. Captain James Le Tort and his wife, Ann, did live in Conestoga a few years later, and likely they were here in 1689.

We find a few land grants about 1690 to 1695, authorizing the locating of the same about Pequea, Conestoga and Susquehanna. These were contracts Penn made in England.

These were the first few traces and migrations of civilized life among the several small tribes of savages who held what is now Lancaster county;^b

^aLyle's History of Lancaster County, p. 20; Colonial Records, vol. 1, p. 114.

^bLyle's History of Lancaster County, p. 68.

these prospectings of white men the first signs of a new order of things and of the passing of the Red Man. But not until 1701 was there any systematic thought and plan of settlement of these parts awakened; and no actual settlement made for at least six or eight years later.

The First Missionaries.

About 1700 a few traders dwelt in nomadic fashion, and a few missionaries sojourned among the Indians of this region.

Of the former class Martin Chartier is perhaps the first, for in Col. Rec., Vol. 2, p. 131, under date of 1704, it is said that he "has lived a long time among the Shawana Indians and upon Susquehanna." A long time before 1704 might carry back to a date contemporary with the coming of Penn. James LeTort, or his wife, Ann, at least as I have stated, is mentioned as early as 1689. In 1703 or 1704, Louis Mitchel, the Cartileges and a few other French traders appear, and still later many others.

Of the latter class, that is, missionaries, in Conestoga the earliest I can find is Rev. Jonas Airen, a Swede, who preached there in 1702¹, and the famous Quaker divine, Thomas Chalkley, in 1705². It is not relative to this paper, but it is interesting to note that Thomas Chalkley and John Estaugh, the latter of whom took up about 7,000 acres of land in the fork of the Conestoga and Mill Creek, and John Cadwallader, all three preachers, died in Antiqua, off Central America, and are buried side by side there. The Pennsylvania Gazette of February 2, 1743, has an account of this.

¹Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 30, p. 291.

²Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 41.

First Steps Taken By Penn.

But a project looking toward a settlement and the organization of a county here on the Susquehanna was inaugurated by Penn as early as the year 1690. What was done towards this end is as follows:

In the year 1690 Penn issued proposals for a second settlement, or city, in the province, on the Susquehanna River*. In these "proposals" Penn sets forth that "it is about nine years past" that he began Philadelphia. Then he says, "It is now my purpose to make another settlement upon the river Susquehanna which runs into the Bay of Chesapeake." Then he goes on, "There I design to lay out a plan for the building of another city in the most convenient place for communication with the former plantations on the east, which by land is as good as done already, a way being laid out between the two rivers very exactly and conveniently, at least three years ago." He then says there is a common course now used by water by the Indians between the two points (Philadelphia and the projected Susquehanna Settlement) by a branch of Schuylkill and a branch of Susquehanna (likely French Creek and the head waters of the Conestoga), which branches "lie near each other." He provides that every purchaser in the proposed settlement "shall have a proportionable lot in the city to build a house upon. Each share in the proposed plan is to contain 3,000 acres for 100 pounds, and proportionable price for smaller lots." Then, he says, the soil is good, and that the river "many miles above the place of the proposed new settlement

*Hazard's Register, vol. 1, p. 400.

is wider than the Thames at London Bridge”¹⁰.

Penn Made “Concessions.”

Little progress was made in this matter, but in 1696 there were a few subscribers. Penn, however, continued to have faith in it, and in 1701 he executed and recorded at Philadelphia a paper of “concessions” concerning the proposed settlement, of the following purport: “That the lands subscribed for shall be laid out on Susquehanna River near the mouth of the Conestoga and extend up the river fifteen miles; that a chief town shall be laid out, also townships not exceeding 6,000 acres and not over five hundred acres to each person, and each one also to have a town lot; that the tract shall be a county and when fifty families are settled they shall have two representatives in Assembly, and when the inhabitants number one hundred families, and forever thereafter, they shall be represented by four Assemblymen to be chosen by themselves; that they shall have Courts in the town; and the county shall be named _____ (this has never been filled in, in the original, or in the record at Philadelphia); that he will allow purchasers ten per cent. and five per cent. additional lands free, to encourage them; that he will pay the surveying of the tracts, except the purchasers to find the ax-men, chainmen and diet; they shall have the minerals of all mines, except two-fifths to go to the King; that the land shall be clear of all Indian claims; that there shall be allowance for roads, and that he, Penn, would bear 100 pounds of the expenses in laying the same out; that there should be

¹⁰Hazard's Register, vol. 1, p. 400.

Inns established on the road and Stages, and Penn would contribute part of a hundred pounds (proportionable part) to meet these establishments; that the majority of the purchasers shall appoint a committee to take control of the allotting of tracts, surveying lines and making roads and bridges and all else that is necessary, to carry out the design; that the said committee shall meet at Philadelphia on notice from the commissioners of property of Pennsylvania, to take up the different questions arising together with the said commissioners of property; and that these concessions shall be enrolled at Philadelphia in the Rolls Office, and are to be strictly adhered to.¹¹

This paper of "concessions" is dated the 25th of 8th month, 1701, and is signed and sealed by Penn, at New Castle. It is accepted on behalf of all the subscribers by Edw. Shippen, Caleb Pusey, Jno. Guest, David Lloyd, Samuel Carpenter, Griffith Owens, Thos. Story, Robert Ashton and Paronillus Parmister, October 31, 1701.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. George Steinman for the use of the original of this remarkable document. He owns it.

Penn himself was here in 1701 to view this tract; and also to visit the Conestoga Indians, for in a letter of the 21st of June, 1701, Isaac Norris wrote to David Zachary: "I have just come from Susquehanna, where I have been to meet the Governor. We had a round-about journey, having pretty well traversed the wilderness. We lived nobly at the King's palace in Conestoga, and from thence crossed it to Schoolkill, where we fell in about

¹¹Rolls of Office, C. 2, vol. 3, pp. 171-175.

thirty miles up from hence" (Philadelphia).¹²

December 2, 1701, James Logan wrote to William Penn: "The Susquehanna subscriptions go not briskly on, as at first, chiefly through the undertakers' want of time, because of the fair, etc., but it is intended to be pressed forward with vigor, though thy absence is no small damp to things of that kind."¹³

May 7, 1702, Logan again wrote to Penn: "The Susquehanna business goes but slowly on, for want of undertakers to follow it up; viz., Samuel Carpenter to follow it, as they say Samuel is a true friend, but overburdened with his own business. I hope there will be 5,000 pounds subscribed. The Susquehanna Company has purchased 6,000 acres."¹⁴

Penn Laments His Venture.

Logan again wrote to Penn in 1702 that certain Octorara lands were no better than the Susquehanna lands; and that Griffith Owen and Edward Shippen knew something of the place, "having been with thee at Susquehannah."¹⁵ He further says: "The settlement of those lands at the head of Northeast river, or Octorara, gives value to our Susquehanna lands."¹⁶ In 1704 Penn writes to Logan: "No revenue or Susquehanna money paid, on which account, I ventured, my poor child, so far from his wife and pretty children. O, Pennsylvania, what hast thou cost me?—above 30,000 pounds more than I ever got by it—two most hazardous and most fatiguing voyages, and my slavery here!"¹⁷ Penn

¹²Logan Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 43.

¹³Logan Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 67.

¹⁴Logan Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 98.

¹⁵Logan Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 122.

¹⁶Logan Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 203.

¹⁷Logan Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 280.

for he was at home in England when he wrote this, and his son was sowing wild oats and going to the dogs in Philadelphia, with the dissolute Governor Evans as his companion. May 26, 1704, James Logan wrote to Penn: "I know not what we shall do about that the Susquehanna subscriptions; we may have bonds renewed by many which will bring interest; but, were the country people ever so willing, nay, were it to redeem their lives, they cannot now raise money."¹⁵

May 30, 1705, Penn sent this order to James Logan: "If the counties of the Province are not bounded westward let them be ordered to be run to Sasquehannagh River" (Logan Correspondence, Vol. 2, p. 15). In the same publication, p. 48, in the same year, he says to Logan: "Running back to Susquehanna thou might perhaps get 8 or 10,000 pounds more;" and that the rest of the soil westward will never be worth anything. Again, in 1705, Penn writes to Logan: "I am sorry the Susquehanna business is where it was, since it was so much the occasion of that fatal journey of my poor son.....If by any means I could pay 10,000 pounds here without the sale of that Susquehanna land I would certainly do it" (Logan Correspondence, Vol. 2, p. 69). In 1706 Penn says: "The Germans incline most to have the Susquehanna land, and will give more for it here in ready money than what's proposed there" (Logan Correspondence, Vol. 2, p. 103). (This gives us a key as to how early the Germans, if not here, were interested in buying lands on the Susquehanna in 1706 and before). Penn was in England, of course, when writing these letters. Later the same year he says: "The Germans press me, not

¹⁵Logan Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 290.

for the 30,000 acres in New Castle, but for the Conestoga Lands" (Logan Correspondence, Vol. 2, p. 110). And Logan, advising Penn also in 1706, says: "If thou canst sell the Susquehanna land there for 3 pounds per 100 acres, or even 50 shillings, though that is much too cheap, it will be as good or better than 5 per cent. here of our subscriptions; but pray remember the Indian settlements" (Logan Correspondence, Vol. 2, p. 120). In September, 1706, Logan again advises Penn on selling the Susquehanna lands to help him out (Logan Correspondence, Vol. 2, p. 170). And finally, July 8, 1707, Penn writes from England to Logan: "I hereby order thee to dissolve the Susquehanna purchase" (Logan Correspondence, Vol. 2, p. 234). To this Penn adds one last lament, September 11, 1708, as to his whole Susquehanna project: "Be careful that no sales be hereafter made of my estate like the Sasquehanagh purchase now vacated" (Logan Correspondence, Vol. 2, p. 289).

First Attempt Failed.

Thus the first attempt to create a settlement and to organize a county here on Susquehanna failed.

But all this country was rich in soil and in Indian products, and the tide of white inhabitants kept moving up toward the Susquehanna. This tide flowed up the State or province in three great early waves. The first began in 1682 and ended in 1686, when 109,263 acres of land in Chester county alone (which then included Lancaster county) were applied for and warranted; the second began in 1701 and ended in 1704, when in the same county 138,528 acres were applied for and warranted; and the third began in 1714 and ended in 1718, in which time

more than 66,628 acres were applied for and warranted in Chester county. Between 1680 and these three seasons and for several years after the last one, scarcely 1,000 Pequosac acres a year were applied for, and from 1694 to 1700 scarcely 500 acres in the aggregate were applied for. Point." The first was the Quaker wave. The second was the English and Irish, generally (except the few Germans who started Germantown). It was in certain this boom that Penn's Susquehanna project took its rise. But, aside from the Susquehanna project activity, our section was not affected by this wave. Only the last wave affected the now Lancaster county—the German wave. Each of these waves grew out of sociological causes, which are delightful to study. They are not germane, however, to this paper.¹²

Development Preceding Organization.

And now let us look briefly at the different lines of development which finally ripened this Susquehanna neighborhood for the organization of a new county, Lancaster county.

Under the date of 1714 (but which I think should be a year or two later) there is a written statement made by Isaac Taylor, found in the Taylor papers in the Historical Society, at Philadelphia, as follows: Endorsed, "Lands in Chester County." And on the first line within the paper there is set out "Lands surveyed on Pequea and Conestoga 58,937 Acres."²² So such is the progress land-taking was making. As early as 1719 James Steel (then one of the Land Commissioners of Penn) wrote of the "unwillingness of the commissioners to grant any

¹⁹Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, vol. 3, p. 102.

Vol. 3, p. 102.
2^o Taylor Papers (Miscellany). No.
2941.

more lands at present" about Conestoga.²¹ And the same year James Logan wrote to Isaac Taylor that all but a few points were taken up at Pequea,²² and also in another letter to the same party he wrote the same year that a point called "Madam's Point" on Conestoga was still vacant, but that there was very little of it.²³ And in 1727 Logan again writes that there is very little timber left in certain tracts.²⁴ This shows that the better land was pretty generally taken up by 1727, or just before agitation began for a new county.

Laying Out Roads.

Roads also were laid out, but they were very poor ones. Besides the road which Penn refers to in 1690 "very exactly and conveniently between the two rivers" (Susquehanna and Delaware), which I have spoken of (and which was surely only an Indian path), a road was opened and used about 1714, called Great Conestoga Road, from Postlethwait's, now Fehl's, near Rock Hill, through Big Springs, through what is now Strasburg and Gap, on to John Minshall's, now Christiana, being an outlet from lower Conestoga and Pequea Valleys; and one in 1726 from the junction of Conestoga and Cocalico Creeks, along the northern boundary of what are now Earl townships, and into Chester county, leading out from the Upper Conestoga and adjoining valleys, the great "Old Peter's Road."

There were also two other laid-out roads in what is now Lancaster county

- ²¹Taylor Papers (Miscellany), No. 2932.
²²Taylor Papers (Miscellany), No. 3323; No. 3311.
²³Taylor Papers (Miscellany), No. 2920.
²⁴Taylor Papers (Miscellany), No. 3039.

prior to the erection of the county, both of which appear in the Chester county records which I have examined and where I found the proceedings; one in 1724, from the "Lime Stone Rock," in Salisbury township, at the head branch of the Pequea Creek, and running almost directly southward to John Churchman's, on the Maryland line. It extended eventually to Chesapeake Bay. The other is a small road laid out at the August sessions, 1719, of the Chester County Courts, from west of the Octoraro, across by the Shawana Indian town into Chester county, and on to Christina (now Wilmington) and New Castle. There is also mention of a road by which the old Swedes about Christina and New Castle traded with our Indians on the Susquehanna as early as 1647, running along the east side of Susquehanna River; and one in 1701, being the way by which the Delaware and Marylander traders took whisky and goods to our Conestoga Indians; but I cannot find any proceedings laying out the latter two roads at those early dates.

Olaest Buildings in County.

The oldest two buildings in Lancaster county are still standing along the first-mentioned road, the Great Conestoga Road, they having been built at or shortly after the time the road was opened through the woods, and before it was officially laid out by Court proceedings. One is the little old Herr stone house, built (as the date stone above the door indicates) in 1719, on the farm now occupied by David Huber, Jr., near Willow Street, and the other is the Postlethwait Hotel, at one time the Court House of the county, now owned by Geo. Fehl, near Rock Hill, built a few years before 1729.

The liquor business was flourishing in this section also at a very early date. In 1701 one of the Shawana chiefs, who were at that date living near the mouth of Pequea Creek, complained that Sylvester Garland brought to the Indian settlement "several anchors of rum, amounting to 140 gallons, and he gave it to them to induce them to trade with him; and after drinking they were much abused" (See Colonial Records, Vol. 2, p. 33). And at pages 140 and 141, Colonial Records, Vol. 2., under date of 1704, it was complained that great abuses were committed in carrying rum from New Castle to Conestoga, and the Chief of the Conestogas himself went to Philadelphia and complained that great quantities of rum were continually carried to their town so that they are ruined by it, having nothing left, but that they have even sold their clothes to get it. Very nearly as early as this Indian rum trade taverns were opened both along the Conestoga and along the Pequea highways. Applications for the licensing of these soon appeared, and there were many of them, especially along Old Great Conestoga Road and Old Peter's Road. The earliest of these applications, which is signed by a large number of subjects, is that near Old Peter's Road, about the upper branches of the Pequea Creek, dated 1715, and signed by about forty subjects, who state in the petition that the tavern is to be located near the head of the Pequea Creek. This was one of the curious exhibits relating to Lancaster county which I saw at the Jamestown Exposition. The paper is the property of Mr. Gilbert Cope, of West Chester, and is one of the very earliest of all the Lancaster county documents.

~~prices of commodities at or a couple years before the time of publication.~~

Early Mills Erected.

So, too, there were a few mills erected before Lancaster county was born. Before 1714 Christian Schlegel had a mill on Conestoga, or a branch, because in that year he complained "that a certain person hath seated himself near the mill he built lately at Conestoga."²⁵

About 1727 Stephen Atkinson's fulling mill was built on Conestoga Creek, near Lancaster, for on August 27, 1728, there is a complaint that a year ago "he had liberty to settle and build a fulling mill on a neck of vacant land, etc., and that now some people interfere with the dam."²⁶ Christian Stoneman's, Hans Graeff's and Samuel Taylor's mills also were erected before 1729.^{27a}

So, too, there was some prospecting for mineral wealth in early times. In 1721 John Cartlidge, of Conestoga, wrote to Isaac Taylor: "There is come into this province from New England a gentleman named John McNeal, and hath been with me and we have viewed the iron oar and matter yt we have laid out."²⁷

The villages of Lancaster and Columbia were both begun before the county of Lancaster was organized—the former by Hamilton and the latter by Wright. Other small settlements, as Conestoga, Donegal, Octorara, Ephrata and Pequea (the last named being now Strasburg, or near it), then a Mennonite settlement which Isaac Taylor noted in 1711 as containing six or seven Palatine families,²⁸ were all in their early stages.

The local financial condition and

²⁵Taylor Papers, No. 2827.

²⁶Taylor Papers, No. 588.

^{27a}Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 260.

²⁷Taylor Papers, No. 2975.

²⁸Taylor Papers, No. 2796.

prices of commodities, at or a couple years before the time of the organization of Lancaster county, were as follows: The province was now fairly recovered from the money panic of 1721-2. This panic in 1721 afflicted our Germans here very sorely. January 2, 1722, Andrew Bradford, printer of the Mercury, wrote: "Our General Assembly are now sitting and we have great expectation from them at this juncture that they will find some effectual remedy to revive the dying credit of this province and restore us to our former happy circumstances." For this he was called before the Assembly and reprimanded, because they considered it a reflection on their honesty. This was a second outbreak of the early Quaker bigotry, which they first visited on William Bradford, father of Andrew, twenty-five years before, when they virtually made him leave the province for referring to "Lord Penn," banishing thus the first printer of Pennsylvania to New York, where he died at the age of ninety-four, having gained great fame.

As this panic subsided and good prices began to return the Conestoga and Pequea valleys began to fill up. During the autumns of 1724 and onward the Germans of Conestoga were receiving 3 shillings and 6 pence for wheat, it having advanced from 2 shillings and 6 pence since January 1, 1723. Corn had advanced from 1 shilling and 8 pence to 2 shillings and 6 pence in the same time; beef from 30 shillings a barrel to 35 shillings a barrel. Pork, however, had dropped from 40 to 30 shillings a barrel; flour had advanced from 8 shillings to 11 shillings a hundred weight, and tobacco was demanding 25 to 30 shillings a hundred weight, having risen very much in two years. Sugar was

30 shillings a barrel; fine salt 3 shillings 6 pence a bushel, molasses and rum each a shilling a gallon, white bread 15 shillings a hundred weight, middlings bread 12 shillings and brown bread 9 shillings. And in the case of all these commodities the trend of price was now upwards. (See Weekly Mercury, January 13, 1723, and September 17, 1724.) Rhoda Barber, born in 1766, speaking of what her grandmother told her, tells us in her "Journal" that the farmers on the Susquehanna about 1730 did not depend on wheat and corn, but on hemp and hops to make a living. (See Journal Hist. Soc. Pa.)

To tell the number of people who lived here when the county was organized in 1729 is a difficult matter. In 1693, when the Assessors' lists of the various townships of Chester county (of which we were a part) were made out, Conestoga is not mentioned at all, and, of course, no one lived here. This may be seen in Cope and Futhey's History of Chester county. In the 1715 assessments we are also missed, but in 1718 Conestoga had a list of taxables numbering 130, of whom 43 were Englishmen and 87 "Dutchmen," and there were also 10 non-resident landowners. Taxation and voting were both limited and these 130 taxables may have indicated 1,000 inhabitants. The Pequea list for 1721 has about 30 and some non-residents. Both these original lists are in the possession of Mr. Gilbert Cope, of West Chester, where I have seen them. He keeps them in fire-proof safes.

In the Historical Society at Philadelphia may be seen "Authentic Lists of Taxables in 1725 for Conestoga, Donegal, Pequea and Tulpehocken." They are as follows (omitting Tulpe-

hocken, which is not now part of Lancaster county): Pequea, 32; Conestoga, 238, and freemen 15, head rates, 9; county rates 30 and Donegal 56. They make in all 380 taxables, and if they indicate one taxable for every seven persons there would have been about 2,660 people in the confines of what is now Lancaster county at that time. The number of people in 1729, the date of the county's birth, I cannot find. Rupp says that in 1738 the taxables in Lancaster county numbered 2,560, and if one out of every six people was a taxable the population then was 15,360.²⁹ One thing is certain, the great rush of inhabitants came on only after the organization of the county in 1729—mostly Mennonites. I feel sure that to say what is now Lancaster county had, in 1729, about 3,500 people puts the number quite high enough. We must remember Philadelphia had only 13,000 people, even as late as 1744^{2a}, and in 1729 only about 8,000 people.

Such were the proportions of affairs and such the social development that a second movement took rise to make a separate county out of this part of the then Chester county. A couple years before the county was erected the necessity for it became evident. While we are not to be blamed for it, we do not like to acknowledge that the wickedness and lawlessness of our neighborhood emphasized the need of a new county.

On the 19th of January, 1726, a petition, signed by divers citizens of Conestoga, setting forth that many vagabonds resort to that neighborhood, was presented to the Assembly praying that a law be provided to sup-

²⁹Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 273.

^{2a}Hazard's Register, Vol. 1, p. 271.

press them.²⁰ Conestoga also began to neglect and refuse to pay her exercise and other taxes to the province, by in the immunity of being so far away from the officers of the law, at old Chester, the county seat, nearly a hundred miles away.²¹

Conditions were lawless to such an extent in this neighborhood about the time of the organization of the county that the newspapers noticed it. The Pennsylvania Gazette of April 12, 1729, has this account of conditions at that time:

"We hear that there are associated together a company of Irish robbers, the chief of whom are said to be one Bennet, whom they call their captain, and one Lynch, whom they call their lieutenant, with Dobbs, Wiggins and many others, who sulk about this and neighboring provinces; their villainies being to steal the best horses and load them with the best goods, and carry them off before the people's faces, which they have done lately in and about Conestoga. It seems their usual practice has been to steal horses from this province and carry them to sell into Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. It is said that they begin to grow more numerous and have a place of rendezvous where they meet to consult how to perpetrate their rogueries and entertain all like themselves."

Then, too, about this time Thos. Cresap, the free booter from Maryland, and his gang began many depredations upon our Indians and our unoffending German citizens.

These and other causes led the citizens of this neighborhood in the winter of 1728-9 to take the first steps to

²⁰Votes of Assembly, vol. 2, p. 468.
²¹Votes of Assembly, vol. 2, p. 491.

form a new county. They began work by circulating a petition throughout the neighborhood setting forth that, by reason of their great distance from the county town, where the Courts are held, offices kept and annual elections made, they are under great inconvenience, being obliged to travel 100 miles to recover debts; that they do not have a sufficient number of constables, justices and other officers to keep up the highways, etc.; that townships are not laid out nor bridges built; that they need a jail here and for want of it many vagabonds and other dissolute persons harbor among them, thinking themselves safe from justice, and the petition then prays that a division line be made between the upper and lower parts of Chester county, making a new county.³²

This petition during more than a century at least was lost and all search for it was unsuccessful, until a few months ago a certified copy of the original, made by John Wright and Thos. Edwards, was found by Mr. L. R. Kelker and the writer at Harrisburg, the former of whom rescued it from the contents of a large box, which had long reposed in a dark recess in the basement of some of the public buildings.

The Petition.

"To the Honourable Patrick Gordon Esqr, Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware and Council—

"The Petition of the Inhabitants of the upper part of the County of Chester, Sheweth, that by Reason, of the Great Distance we live from the County Town where Elections &

³²Colonial Records, vol. 3, p. 343.

Courts are held, and Publick Offices kept, The arm of Justice is weakened, The benefit of many good and wholesome Laws almost if not Intirely Lost & ye person who has Occasion to apply to them, put to great and Burdensome Expence, Thieves, Vagabonds & Ill people Boldly Infest our parts (Counting themselves beyond the Reach of Law) to the Disturbance of the Peace & very great Damage of the Inhabitants it being almost Impossible to take and Secure such Villains where Justices & Constables are so thin plac'd as not one in Twenty or thirty Miles & Assistance Difficult to be raised on Such Occasions Amongst people who would freely Serve but are Deterred by want of Ready cash, to bear ye Charges of a Journey of Eighty or a hundred Miles to the County Jail, And as we are mostly now Settlers far from a Market, and Trade and Comerce among our Selves mostly by way of Barter, Money canot be Supposed plenty. Therefore when Law Suits prove Necessary to Recover our Just Debts, the trouble and Expense of Travelling to Obtain a Writt or Summons, having it Served bringing Evidence(when Needful) attending Two or Three Courts, the Repeated Journeys amount to three or four hundred miles, besides the loss of much time, All which being a ready Money Charge makes the Recovery of a Small Sum more detrimental than the loss of it, and is a very Great Oppression of the Debtor, and in debts, under forty shillings which cannot be recovered, without an Execution, The Action Drops rather than Cause so great a charge as would Accrue if the party be sent to Jail & taken from his friends (if any) who might assist him, Runaway Servants & Suspi-

cious persons who often come this way to hide among us or Escape into the back parts of Maryland are seldom taken up. The Reward for Runaways not Answering the Trouble, and to far to send Suspected Persons til they can make proof of their Clearness. Our highways are unpaired, Townships undivided nor Bridges Built, where they are wanted, nor can our Taxes be as Regularly Laid, or our Grievances likely to be Redressed when the mean distance to the nearest place of Appeals is at least fifty miles, And Neither Comish-
oner nor more than one Assessor (if that) Elected in many years within the Circle of five hundred ffamilies. These and many more Inconveniences of the like Nature, & from the same Cause which may Occur to you on a serious Reflection we humbly offer to your Consideration—Hoping, as we are His Majesties' Liege Subjects, and Justly Entituled to all the ease & advantages the Law will afford, You will in your Care, for the Publick good be Ready to Redress. And in Order thereto as most of your petitioners Living fifty or Eighty Miles from Chester & some much further, and ye Bounds yearly Enlarging.

"We humbly pray you would be pleased to Order a Division line to be made between the uper and lower part of Chester County, which uper division when so made may be a County, and called ye County of ————— with Privilidge granted to Elect Representatives, A Sheriff & other officers in number and manner as they are now Elected in Chester County and have all other Officers, Officers' powers and privilidges Equal with other countys.

"This we humbly conceive would be the most Effectual means of Re-

dress, of Great Ease and benefit to your Petitioners, and no ways Prejudicial to Chester County or the province in General and for which your Petitioners as in duty Bound shall pray &c

"Pat Anderson, Ephrm Moor, Hugh Scott, Andrew Killbrath, Caleb Pierce, Jno Walter, Alex White, Robt Allison, David Jones, Thos Tinball, Wm Meben, John Wright, Tobias Hendrick, Sam'el Blunston, Ed Smout, (Illegible), Robt Barber, John Postlethwait, Thos Gaill, Saml Taylor, Jno Swift Jun, Jno Davis, Thos Owen, Jno Linvil, Albertus Hendrix, Jos Low, Frances Worley, Joseph Jarvis, Jno Cowin, Da'd Cowin, Christian Stoneman, Dan'el ffiere, Jacob Miller, Thos Folkins, John Musgrove, Henry Carpenter, John Stowfer, Gordon Howard, Jno Sterrett, Zacharias Moor, Jno McLean, Jno Catherwood, Jno Miller, Jno Allison, Jno Harris, Saml Scott, Wm. Allison, James Smith, James Robinson, Moses White, James Miers, Jno MacFarland, Thos Howard, James Patison, Jno McCurry, Jacob Bar, Saml Bar, Abraham More, Christian Mosar, Jacob Funk, Jacob Fincher, James Hendrix, Joseph Higingbotham, Caleb Baker, Jos Minhall, Geo Middleton, Casper Loughman, Wm Lindvil, Isaac Woodrow, Simon Woodrow, Peter Lemon, Christian Lemon, Gabriel Carpenter, Hans Grove, Robt Cloud, Jno Musgrove, John Sickray, Jno Huwoll, Jacob Lawson, Robt Cleas, Thos Willkins, Wm Hayes, Jno Killbrath, Jno Griffith, R'd Hastings, Sm'l Taylor, Nat Watkins, Jno Killbrath Jur, James Gibson, Jos Kennedy, Thos Hains, Thos Willson, Jos Thatcher, James Killbrath, Jur, Pat McKinley, Saml Parker, John Kellso, Moses Thomson, James Killbrath, Robt Mcfarlan, Arthur Patison,

Jno Miller, Caleb Worley, James Hendrix Jr., Geo Hill, Jno Hendrix, Robt Willkins, Enock Davies, Tobias Hanspaker, Charles Jones, Hugh Brown, Wm. Hughes, Jno Futhey, Sam'l Jones, Morgan Jones, Henry Jones, Francis Jones, Jno Minshall, Evan Evans, Ric'd Moor, John Walker, William Willis, Alex McKeen, Sam'l McGomrey, Geo Muffet, John Muffet, Walter Tidiford, Robt Killbreth, James Crody, Wm Allison, Sam'el Hunybrook, James Doke, Richard McLewie, Jno White, Jno Taylor, Thos Mitchell, Abraham Sott, Jas Work, Ed Dodgery, James Swafford, John Klemson, Jno Miller, Ben Heath, Thos Clark, John Boyle, Pat Black, Geo Bohnson, John Mitchell, Ri'd Allison, Jonas Davenport, Wm. Brian, Hugh White, Thos Black, Pat Campbell, James Stuart, Geo Stuart, William Richardson, James Morris, Joseph Mays, Geo Thomas, John Powell, Sam'l Swallow, Daniel Cookson, John Abbott, Sam'l Vernor, Dav'd Vernor, Jno Williams, James Gelt, Wm. Willson, Dan'el Harmon, Ri'd Owen, Thos Edwards."

Nothing more than an epitome of the contents of it is set forth in the Votes of Assembly, the Colonial Records, and the many county histories; and I am persuaded that if it had been accessible when Rupp and when Mombert wrote, complete copies of it would have been inserted by those painstaking writers.

Who and how prominent the signers were is a task that local biographers could tell us with great profit. Also the defending, explaining or excusing the absence of German signers thereto (there not being over twelve or fifteen in the list of 182) is a topic on which a very interesting paper could be written.

I believe that John Wright undoubtedly circulated the petition and secured signers, because he tells us he took a leading part in having the county erected. (See Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 275.)

February 6, 1729, this petition was presented to Council at Philadelphia and the next day Governor Gordon sent a message to the Assembly on the matter explaining the petition and concluding:

"Upon a mature consideration thereof and a proper inquiry into the allegations of said petition, I am of opinion that it may greatly conduce not only to the peace, good order and ease of those inhabitants, in particular, but also to the security of the whole government, by bringing those who too frequently fly thither for refuge under the same subjection to the laws, with the rest of His Majesty's subjects, in this province, and that the prayer of the petition be granted. And although the power of erecting counties as well as incorporating cities, etc., and such like acts, is wholly vested in the proprietary, and therefore in me at this time, as his lieutenant; yet inasmuch as this will add new members to the legislative body, and require the establishment of courts of judicature, with other alterations, for which a due provision will best be made by a law, I have thought proper to make the House acquainted with the application, now made to me, to the end that the same may be carried on with and strengthened by the joint and unanimous concurrence of the whole legislature."³³

The next day, February 8, the Assembly ordered the petition read, and that it lie on the table.³⁴

³³Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 69.

³⁴Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 69.

February 11, "The petition of divers inhabitants of the upper parts of Chester county praying a division in said county was read a second time" and the Governor's message with the same was ordered read a second time which was done and after some debate thereon referred to further consideration to the afternoon."

At three o'clock the house resumed consideration of the petition and the Governor's message, and the message was ordered read again, "which was done accordingly and after a long debate a motion was made and question put, that the said petitioners have leave to bring in a bill according to the prayer of said petition. Passed in the affirmative."²³ On February 12, a committee was appointed, consisting of one member from each county, to draw and answer to the Governor's message advising the erecting of a new county.

The committee reported the answer February 14 and the next day it was adopted by the Assembly. In this answer the Assembly says:

"We have taken into consideration the petition of the inhabitants of the upper parts of Chester county recommended to us by the Governor, and are of opinion, it is reasonable that a due provision be made by law for the ease and convenience of the people of that part of the county. As to the new members of Assembly, a law will be made for that purpose. And for as much as the Governor thinks a division necessary, we humbly propose that he will be pleased to appoint some persons inhabiting the lower parts of Chester county with a like number of the inhabitants of the upper parts of the said county to view and

²³Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 70.

²⁴Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 70.

make report of the most proper place for making the division line between the two counties, which is, however, humbly submitted to the Governor's judgment."³⁷ At this time no English inhabitants lived across Susquehanna River.³⁸

February 20 the Governor appointed Henry Hayes, Samuel Nutt, Samuel Hollingsworth, Philip Taylor, Elisha Gatchel, James James, John Wright, Tobias Hendricks, Samuel Blunston, Andrew Conrish, Thomas Edwards and John Musgrave, calling to their assistance John Taylor, surveyor of Chester county, "to meet at some convenient place near Octorara Creek and cause a marked line to be run from the most northerly or main branch of Octorara northward, or to the east or west thereof, as shall be found most convenient to the next high ridge of barrens that trend from thence to Schuylkill River, keeping near and proceeding along the ridge."³⁹

March 26th, "The petition of divers citizens of the upper parts of Chester county, praying that the division line for dividing the said county may not be confirmed, until the upper inhabitants are better able to bear the weight of Government, was read and ordered to lie on the table."⁴⁰ So here was a movement against creating the new county.

March 28, "The petitioners, praying for a division in Chester county laid before the House a bill for that purpose, according to the order of February 11, last, which was read and ordered to a second reading," and the same day the House ordered, "that the clerk make out a copy of the peti-

³⁷Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 71.

³⁸Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, vol. 1, p. 364.

³⁹Colonial Records, vol. 3, p. 345.

⁴⁰Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 76.

tion to this house against erecting the upper parts of Chester county into a new county and deliver the same to John Wright."⁴¹

March 31, "The second petition of divers citizens and inhabitants of the upper parts of Chester county, praying that the division inhabitants be better able to bear the weight of Government, was read and ordered to lie on the table."⁴²

May 2, the survey was returned and approved by the Governor and Council.⁴³ The same day the Governor and Council decreed and declared the said upper parts "To be erected and are accordingly erected into a county by the name of Lancaster county" and ordered that the Assembly be acquainted with the decree and that they proceed to erect Courts of Judicature for the same.⁴⁴

The same day the Governor's secretary appeared in the Assembly and acquainted them that the Governor had approved the survey and had erected the upper parts of said Chester county into a county to be called Lancaster county and laid the return, survey and warrant before the Assembly and he hoped the Assembly would take the due care to make the necessary provisions for the same and return him the originals.⁴⁵

Later in the day, May 2, the house read the return, survey and warrant and then gave the subject a severe chill by voting not to consider, at present, the bill to provide for the affairs of the new county.⁴⁶

The next day, May 3, the Governor heard of this decision of the Assembly

⁴¹Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 76.

⁴²Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 78.

⁴³Colonial Records, vol. 3, p. 355.

⁴⁴Colonial Records, vol. 3, p. 356.

⁴⁵Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 83.

⁴⁶Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 83.

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to put off action on the new county's equipment and he urged them to dispatch their business, particularly the bill for the division of Chester county.⁴⁷

The Assembly continued to remain inactive regarding Lancaster county, and in a message of May 6th the Governor said, among other things:

"Dispatch all bills that are necessary to prevent the growing disorders in this country. While you are guarding against the inundations upon us, of such as may add to these disorders, you cannot but think with me, that it is absolutely necessary to enable the inhabitants on Susquehanna to exert the powers of Government in those parts, where great numbers of the worst seek shelter in the hope of immunity in their greater distance from more regular administration of Government. I must, therefore, desire that you would also dispatch the bill for erecting those parts into a county, together with the steps I have already made of it."⁴⁸

At last the Assembly became active. May 7th, on motion made, it was agreed the House do immediately consider the bill to divide Chester county, and the bill was read a second time and it was ordered to be debated by paragraphs in the afternoon. At three o'clock the debate was resumed and it was agreed that the new county shall have members to represent it in Assembly and after debate the number was fixed at four. Then the method of electing Assemblymen was agreed upon. Then the bill was ordered into committee to amend it and to report the next morning at eight o'clock. The next morning the Com-

⁴⁷Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 84.

⁴⁸Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 85.

mittee reported the amended bill and the House ordered it read a third time, amended it further, passed it, and sent it to the Governor.⁴⁹

May 9th, the Governor returned the bill to the House with amendments suggested by him and Council as to continuing suits entered in the old county that would fall in the new county and the House agreed to the changes and engrossed the bill and passed it.⁵⁰ The next day the Governor signed it and it became a law, and the new county was now a full-fledged separate political being and started on its career, May 10, 1729.⁵¹

The act creating the new county provided that the people should meet annually at the Court House of the county to hold elections; that the new collectors shall collect the taxes that would, except for the creation of the new county, have been payable in Chester county; that Courts of Quarter Sessions should be held the first Tuesday of February, May, August and November, and that there shall be three Commissioners to raise county taxes, etc. It appointed Caleb Pierce, John Wright, Thomas Edwards and James Mitchel to buy land to build a Court House and a jail upon and that the Commissioners raise £300 for that purpose.

It was soon found that so great a sum of money could not be raised by taxation and so February 14, 1730, a law was passed allowing the province to lend to the county £300, free of interest, to build a prison and a Court House.⁵² The Court House was not built until 1738 or 1739, and the money not paid back until 1742.

⁴⁹Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 85.

⁵⁰Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 87.

⁵¹Statutes at Large, vol. 4, p. 131.

⁵²Statutes at Large, vol. 4, p. 150.

Upon erecting this section into a new county the Governor appointed as its first justices to sit as Justices of the Peace and as Judges holding Courts, John Wright, Tobias Hendricks, Samuel Blunston, Andrew Cornish, Thomas Edwards, Caleb Pierce, Thomas Reed and Samuel Jones, Esqs.^{ss}

Efforts to Divide the County.

Several efforts were made to divide the county of Lancaster by taking portions off the northeastern part of it, but they all failed. As they are interesting however, I will here note them and, with that, concludes this subject.

The first was in 1739 and it is reported as follows:

"January 13, The Governor laid before Council a petition from the inhabitants of the northeast side of the county of Lancaster, with a map of the province of Pennsylvania, praying that a new county may be bounded as by the dividing line in the said map for that they labor under great inconvenience and damage by reason of their distance from the Court held at Philadelphia and at Lancaster and for many other reasons in said petition."^{ss}

May 19, another petition for the same purpose, by many of the same persons, was presented and sent by the Governor to the Assembly; but it was not favorably acted upon.^{ss}

August 8, The "petition from a great number of the inhabitants of Philadelphia and Lancaster counties, praying that a certain tract of land inhabited by the petitioners may be erected into a new county, was read in Assembly and after consideration and debate:

"Resolved, That said petition coming

^{ss}Colonial Records, vol. 3, p. 359.

^{ss}Colonial Records, vol. 4, p. 317.

^{ss}Colonial Records, vol. 4, p. 335

late under consideration and the House wanting further information of the circumstances of the people and the place, said petition is recommended to the next Assembly."⁵⁶

January 8, 1740, accordingly, a "petition from Conrad Weiser, John Davis and James Lewis was again read praying that the house would consider the petition presented to last Assembly for a new county which were by that Assembly recommended to the present one. And the said petitions for a new county were read and considered, and some of the petitioners attending the house were called in and asked by the speaker if they desired to be heard in support of the petition. To which they answered that the hardships they lie under are sufficiently set forth in the petitions and they have nothing further to add. And the petitioners having withdrawn, the question was put that the prayer of the petitions for erecting a new county be granted. Passed in the negative unanimously."⁵⁷

In 1745 there was another effort to divide Lancaster county. On April 24 of that year "a petition from a number of the inhabitants of the back parts of Philadelphia county and the eastern part of Lancaster county setting forth the inconveniences they labor under, by their being too great distance from the Courts of Justice was presented to Assembly praying, 'leave to bring in a bill to erect those parts into a separate county.' It was ordered to lie on the table by the Assembly."⁵⁸

This effort gained considerable popularity; so much, indeed, that the newspapers of the day commented upon it. In its issue of May 2, 1745, Benjamin Franklin's paper, the Pennsylvania Gazette, said, "A petition was

⁵⁶Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 346.

⁵⁷Votes of Assembly, vol. 3, p. 363.

⁵⁸Votes of Assembly, vol. 4, p. 8.

presented to Assembly, praying that all the upper parts of Philadelphia county above McCall's Manor, with part of Lancaster county, be erected into a new county, which was referred to further consideration at the next sitting."

And here this essay, already too long, must end. I have attempted to show the conditions and general proportions of affairs when our grand old county was born and also the modus operandi which brought it into existence, together with the opposition to the movement, and the intricacies of legislaaion through which, in its birth, it passed. To this I have added the several early attempts to subdivide it and I am delighted to record the failure to do so. We are proud of every section of Lancaster county and may be glad that her north eastern limits were not clipped off.

The only justification I have to offer for a discussion of this subject of the "Birth of Lancaster county" is that is is highly patriotic—much more so than at first appears. That which connects us with the noble efforts of the past in our own locality and acquaints us with our predecessors' struggles, hardships and lack of advantages must give us a greater love for that which they have handed down to us. Men, women, and children, too, who have a proper regard for the past of their own locality, will be better people. That is the moral quality of history, rightly understood. Truthful history will make patriots.

To feel connected, by ancestry, by similarity of political principle, by belief in the like institutions, of and with those who lived in ancient days, in the same spots where we now live, make us part of the whole course of years and

life of that locality, and, of course, will kindle our pride and love. But how can this be, unless we know of the work and the play—the sunshine and the cloud—the laughter and the tears, the "ups" and the "downs"—and all the vicissitudes of those people in those days long gone by? This kind of study furnishes the flesh and blood—the life and beauty of the history whose unattractive dry bones we have been occasionally glancing at for years.

It makes patriots; it makes better politics; better and more honest business methods; fewer criminals and a home, family and ancestry-loving people. On the other hand, the most unpatriotic man in the world is the "tramp"—not connected with any place—not proud of any country's history, not accountable to people present or to memories past for his life, morality or usefulness—a man without a country, who is well satisfied that such is his lot.

If now we know more than heretofore of our dear old country's way of life and her struggles in the past, let these thoughts and contrasts incite us to live, and to be, more noble, more useful, more conscientious and more truly patriotic henceforth than we have been in the past.

*Such as life's heavy burden bears
Old Lancaster! Proud Island shore,
The home-towns of a great empire—
Whose smiling faces in their prime
Are to be seen on every side—
T'was here the homeless found repose
In a wild, unknown wilderness,
Free from the Old World's blight—
Free to enjoy their liberty.*

*Old Lancaster! Could you find room
To tell of all within your bosom?*

What a ~~WISHT~~ night we held
Of those who did not
Of who
Of others
Who started
To act their

Tribute to Old Lancaster

Old Lancaster! This is my theme;
Call it a vision or a dream;
An old familiar name most dear;
And one that we should e'er revere.
A name we mention with delight;
Given by good old Quaker Wright,
Who lived beloved, who died at last,
Without a cloud to dim his past.

Old Lancaster! Prim and sedate;
The glory of the Keystone State;
For you we toil with earnest zeal,
Some hidden treasures to reveal.
We search the records of the past,
For some old souvenir that was cast,
Maybe, in some forgotten nook,
Where one would seldom think to look.

Old Lancaster! Is it too late
In this year, nineteen hundred eight,
To say a word, to write a line,
Of that early, afar-off time?
Is it too late to resurrect,
And in these cases here collect,
The thing that will perpetuate
Our good old city, county, State?

Old Lancaster! We want to know
More of this town of long ago;
Of "Who was Who;" some one to name
All the great women known to fame.
All the great mother-pioneers—
Who, 'way back in the early years—
In times of peace, in times of war,
Much of life's heavy burden bore.

Old Lancaster! Proud inland shire,
The home-town of a great empire;
Whose smiling acres in their pride
Are to be seen on every side;
'Twas here the homeless found redress,
In a wild, unknown wilderness;
Free from the Old World's bigotry,
Free to enjoy their liberty.

Old Lancaster! Could you find speech,
To tell of all within your reach;

What a story might yet be told,
 Of those historic days of old;
 Of Washington and Lafayette—
 Of others we can ne'er forget—
 Who started forth at Freedom's call,
 To act their part, to stand or fall.

Old Lancaster! Your magic hand
 Once swayed a patriotic band
 Of toilers who, from o'er the sea,
 Came to this town of Liberty.
 Here, on this favored spot of earth,
 We claim that Freedom had its birth,
 Long years before the "State-House"
 bell
 Pealed forth its ringing, warning knell.

Old home-like town! This tribute we
 Unselfishly extend to thee!
 A tribute which will e'er remain
 An honor to your own fair name.
 And now, as we this homage pay,
 We shall have something more to say,
 Of days when you your valor won,
 In other years now past and gone.

Old Lancaster! It still would seem,
 We have your Duke, Prince, King and
 Queen;
 Memorial to England's Crown,
 When first you came to this old town.
 Lone sentinels, they point the way,
 Lest some strange stroller go astray.
 Familiar names! how oft they bring
 Thoughts of old Britannia's King.

They'd been with you for many years,
 Sharing alike your hopes and fears;
 But when the "Declaration" came
 They changed in thought, if not in
 name.
 So let these sentinels endure,
 As bright, as cherished, and as pure.
 As when first they were handed down
 To mark the streets of this old town.

Old Lancaster! Ah, happy thought!
 To think what changes time hath
 wrought!
 In planting 'round "The Hick'ry Tree"
 A small, belated colony.
 Yes; some will smile, and others frown;
 But this is still the same old town;
 A change or so made here or there,
 Extending out from Centre Square.

Old Lancaster! Mark how you grew
 From what was Old to what is New;
 Your habits, customs—they have gone—
 And yet the sun has ever shone
 As brightly as in days of yore;
 But what is better still, and more—
 Plenty has come; few to complain,
 For want of sunshine or of rain.

Old Lancaster! Our heartstrings cling
 To songs our mothers used to sing;
 Those old-time hymns of childish glee,
 When rocked to sleep upon her knee.
 Yes; still they come and still they go
 Like dewdrops falling here below;
 Sweet music as we all grow old;
 Still sweeter as the heart grows cold.

Old Lancaster! we sound your praise,
 For length of years, for peaceful days—
 For home and friends and fireside—
 For Easter-Day and Christmas-tide.
 For all the many goodly things
 Which honest labor always brings.
 We love your Anglo-Saxon name—
 With it the dawn of Freedom came.

Old Lancaster! Of bygone days,
 With your slow-going, easy ways!
 Let us draw from history's page
 The name of poet, artist, sage.
 For we can ne'er forget the men
 Who followed Quaker William Penn,
 To found this town and here retain
 Their honored names without a stain.

Old Lancaster! None can recall
 Your early settlers, great or small;
 Your first Court House; your men of
 state,
 Who therein used to congregate,
 To fight the battles of the day,
 Dressing in garment bright and gay;
 Who lingered 'round the "Grape" hotel,
 Their many wondrous tales to tell.

Old Lancaster! Your sacred bells!
 How each old tune within me dwells!
 The same as in those early times
 When first we heard Trinity's chimes.
 The bells! The bells! Oh, let them ring;
 For sweet reminders they oft bring
 Of some beloved parson, divine,
 Whom once we knew in olden time.

Yes, yes, old town, your bells have won
 A place for you in Christendom;
 In human hearts they've touched a
 chord,
 With inspiration from the Lord;
 As down throughout the century
 They've proved to man a legacy,
 So let the bells with merry cheer
 Ring out glad tidings year by year.

Old Lancaster! We love to roam
 Around about the new "Long Home;"
 To think, 'twas woman's sacrifice
 That made this place a Paradise.
 To found a "Home"—to aid the poor—
 Out of decadent's ample store—
 Is but to leave a name behind—
 One to be cherished by mankind.

Old Lancaster! Happily rest,
 The givers of a small bequest—
 A little something that will tend
 To aid and serve an aged friend.
 Such cheerful deeds of kindness,
 In aid of those now in distress,
 Will live beloved, will e'er remain,
 Bright jewel to a worthy name.

Old Lancaster! Your churches, schools!
 Wherein love reigns and virtue rules;
 See how they've multiplied and grown
 Since the first Christian seed was sown.
 And as they stood in olden time
 They stand to-day, a sacred shrine;
 Emblems of what our lives should be
 When full of love and charity.

Old Lancaster! We all delight
 To honor you this New Year's night;
 And, as we live in peace and health,
 Should we not give then of our wealth?
 Give freely to the aged—poor—
 Who may come tapping at our door?
 This is a duty we all owe,
 To neighbor, friend, or maybe foe.

Old Lancaster! Traditions claim
 That you are not to-day the same
 Wigwam you were when, once anon,
 You first met "Ground-Rent" Hamilton;
 Who drew the town from Postlethwait
 To "Hazel Swamp"—his own estate—
 But be that as the records say,
 To "Roaring Brook" you came to stay.

Old Lancaster! Turn back the dial,
 And as we stroll a little while
 Around the far-famed "Hick'ry Tree"
 Together we, perchance, may see
 The once-familiar "Gibson Inn,"
 Where "Hick'ry Indians" got their gin;
 Where trappers came from "Harris'
 Ferry,"
 To ply their trade, and then grow
 merry.

Old Lancaster! Come, tell us how
 The "Paxton Boys" got in a row?
 Of how they entered the old jail?
 (Ah, but oh! it's a grawsome tale.)
 Of how they broke the door and lock,
 And there scalped Indian "Billy Soc."
 Now of that fatal, far-off time,
 We close the scene; we draw the line.

Old Lancaster! Yes, pretty well
 You've held this town within your
 spell,
 Since you helped drive King George's
 band
 Out of this town—out of this land.
 'Twas after independence came
 That patriots revered your name,
 In all that tends to elevate.
 Our good, old city, county, great.

Old Lancaster! Your old-time name
 Among us here will e'er remain
 As fresh and green, as firm and true,
 As when it was first given you.
 Other names are worth possessing,
 Others still have proved a blessing;
 But of the many, we prefer
 The good old name of Lancaster.

Old Lancaster! Your name's been found
 Among old treasures, here around;
 On Indian deeds, dim from age—
 It has been seen on ev'ry page.
 We find it here, we find it there—
 We find it almost ev'rywhere—
 The brightest, fairest, dearest name
 That ever brought a people fame.

Old Lancaster! City, county!
 What a kind, heavenly bounty
 Dame Nature has spread near and far,
 All within reach of trolley car.

As they ~~sung~~ ⁽⁴⁶⁾
 Rich in all blessings which should
~~some poor~~ make
 A people proud, contented, great;
 Not alone in temporal things,
 But for what the near future brings.

Alas! And would some other name
 To all of us be just the same?
 Oh, bless you, No! for 'round it twines
 Fond memories of other times—
 When we together, girls and boys,
 Would mingle in our childish joys,
 Without the fear of Judge or Court
 'Twas to break in on our youthful sport.
 Showy

Old Lancaster! Need it be said,
 Old We love the spot where rest the dead!
 That Where thousands lie who once were
~~Has re~~ here,
 To gladden homes in every sphere.
 Of course We love "Old Woodward," where, below,
 The Conestoga's waters flow,
 The As they go winding gently 'round!
 But this Surely, this is hallowed ground!
 How fr

Oh, famous, joyful, boyish stream!
 Finance To me such it will ever seem;
 But then As 'neath its trees in other days
 I strolled along in dubious ways.
 Then I stood and watched the "Packet-boat,"
 So let As it came speeding, all afloat,
 To "Reigart's Landing"—Ah, but oh!
 For all This was many years ago.
 For pa

Old Lancaster! Your name alone
 Old Has found a place in every home;
 Where A name beloved in other climes—
 Out of The same as in my simple rhymes.
 Of this Yes; down the ages it will roll,
 And now A sweet harbinger to the soul;
 Telling of deeds that man has done,
 Of what Of battles lost, of victories won.
 Was ha

Old Lancaster! If you were here,
 Old Is speak, to whisper in our ear,
 Some old-time song that once was sung
 Of what In early days when you were young—
 To this A song, perchance, two centuries old—
 But what As priceless as if carved in gold—
 It surely Ah! you are here, in name at least,
 To take To join in this historic feast.
 For a m

Old Lancaster! What would you be
 Without a woman's charity?
 The mothers who, in times of need,
 Spread forth with tears the loving seed,

As they stepped from their lowly
sphere
Some poor, young soldier's heart to
cheer—
When boys in "blue" so quietly
Went forth to fight for liberty.

And now, old town, you've ever been
To us a royal diadem;
When Hope was sinking in dismay,
And gloom obscured each parting day—
When cannon's roared from shore to
shore—
And brought dismay to evry door—
'Twas then the name of Lancaster
Shown brightly forth without a blur.

Old Lancaster! How thankful we,
That no widespread calamity
Has rent or torn this town in twain,
By fire, rain or hurricane.
Of course, you've had your ups and
downs,
The same as those of other towns;
But this one place—much favored spot!
How free from these has been your lot:

Financial troubles we have had,
But these were not one-half as bad
As holocaust and fiery blast
That other towns have overcast.
So let us, then, our voices raise,
In earnest words, Jehovah praise,
For all the things we now possess—
For peace and plenty, happiness.

Old Lancaster! Can you us tell
Where this or that man used to dwell,
Out of the turmoil, anger, strife,
Of this twent'eth century life?
And now, from past, eventful times,
Think, as you ponder o'er these rhymes,
Of what a glorious legacy
Was handed down for you and me.

Old inland town! Who can predict,
Or issue forth a new edict,
Of what in future may occur
To this old town of Lancaster?
But, whatever may be its fate,
It surely is not yet too late
To take a hand—to make a stir
For a new and better Lancaster.

Mishler's "Ten-Hour" House

So many inquiries have been made at various times anent that most remarkable feat in building annals in this city—the famous "ten-hour house"—that a few facts in regard thereto may be found worthy of a niche in the chronicles of the proceedings of your Society. Thirty-five years have rolled by since the master mechanie and humble laborer united their brain and brawn in a zealous attempt to execute what is to all intents and purposes a world's record in building, and as each year comes and goes the pretty little house at the southern extremity of Prince street grows in interest and curiosity. As a preliminary remark, it may be stated that, despite the disparagement of those people who would claim that a structure erected in the incredibly small space of ten hours must of necessity be of a most unsubstantial character, yet the dwelling to-day stands as firm and intact as many others which have required months in their construction—and even at that it has been tenanted continuously for thirty-five years.

Dr. Benjamin Mishler, the builder of the "ten-hour house," was born in the year 1814, and died June 8, 1876, three years after the house was built. Dr. Mishler was the maker of the far-famed Mishler's Bitters, and a very well-known resident of Lancaster. Moreover, he was an advertiser far in advance of his day, as the files of the newspapers of that time clearly reveal. Being comfortably "fixed," it is natural to presume that it was merely

in the pursuance of a whim that Dr. Mishler attempted and executed this feat, and in the consummation of which he has handed his name down to future generations linked with an unsullied record.

The "ten-hour house" was, however, not the first attempt made by Benjamin Mishler to build a house in record speed. His first effort, it appears, was to build a house in the space of twenty hours. The site of the building was on Howard Avenue (at that time Middle street), next door to the Old Lion Brewery, according to a note left in the handwriting of the late Walter A. Kieffer. On a visit to that section recently I was informed by a gentleman residing in the neighborhood that the building had been torn down some years ago, to make way for the American Caramel Company's immense plant. This dwelling, I was informed by another party, was built about the year 1868, which, if that date is correct, preceded the "ten-hour house" by about five years. A laborious search of the old newspaper files failed to throw any light upon the first attempt of Dr. Mishler, but it is claimed that it was built in the space of nineteen hours, one hour less than the proposed time.

After a rest of several years at least following the building of the nineteen-hour house, Dr. Mishler set at work to beat that record, and proposed to build a house in the yet shorter time of sixteen hours, or less.

The site of the "ten-hour house" is known as 533 South Prince street. The time for the execution of the feat was fixed as the first day of August, 1873. Advance notice, it seems, had been given out to the people of the city concerning the event, and great interest was occasioned on all sides.

so that on the day set for the building hundreds of people had gathered on the grounds, necessitating the presence of several policemen to curb the crowds, and prevent them from interfering with the workmen.

The cellar foundation had previously been laid, and the building materials collected on the grounds. In conversation with a gentleman lately master who had been engaged in the construction of the dwelling I was told that all the advance work possible had been done prior to the day of building. The stairs had been put together, the window frames constructed ready to place in position and the stoops made, beside all the minor articles necessary to a finished house.

It is most natural to suppose that, when the signal for starting was given at six o'clock, on the morning of August 1, 1873, no sound of babel voices rose from the throats of the more than one hundred workmen as they set about to erect the dwelling. It is easily to be conceived that each man had been given explicit instructions previously as to his respective duty, and that each and all glided about, here and there, with the easy motion of automatons, and that "confusion worse confounded" was only conspicuous by its absence in the building of the "ten-hour" house.

On commenting upon the great feat, the Lancaster Daily Express, in its issue of August 1, had the following:

"The Ten Hour House: It has been a subject of some discussion throughout the city for several weeks past, that Benjamin Mishler, of Bitters notoriety, intended erecting a two-story brick house in sixteen hours—the material to be prepared and collected on the building site previous to the day of the great feat. To-day was the ap-

pointed time, and the extremity of South Prince street the site selected. At the appointed hour—six o'clock this morning—the material was found to be on hand, furnished as follows: The woodwork from the Centre Square establishment of Miller & Mercer; the bricks from Coonley's; the lime from Herr's; the tin roof and spouting from Jacob Gable & Co's., and the following master mechanics were on hand to superintend and assist in the several branches of work: Jacob Gable & Co., to do the tinning; Peter Rutt, master mason; Broch & Benedict to superintend the plastering; Harry Horner and D. W. Landis the carpenter work; McCullom & Bateman the painting; in all there were upwards of 100 hands to do the work, including a number from Columbia and elsewhere. The cellar foundation was already laid and precisely at six o'clock the men went to work. The building is to be a two-story brick, with eight rooms and tin roof. At noon to-day the walls were up, and the roof was being put on, while the first story was not only rough, but white plastered, and the bricks were painted and penciled as neatly as we generally find in ordinary houses. There is no doubt that the building will be completed before six o'clock this evening, and it is expected that Harry Mishler (son of Dr. Benjamin Mishler and who is to occupy the building for a dwelling) will have his furniture moved in and be taking his supper at that hour; Mr. J. T. Reading, the well-known photographer, has been engaged to photograph the structure once every hour during the stages of its progression, and we understand that a set of these pictures is to be presented by Mr. Mishler to each of the one hundred men engaged in the work."

At half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, exactly ten and a half hours from the first trip-trip of the hammer, the last nail had been driven into the structure, and the dream of Dr. Mishler was an accomplished fact. Tables were quickly moved in, and, it is said, as if in verification of the statement of the "Express," supper was partaken of by the family.

The day following, August 2, the Lancaster Express printed the following notice of the event:

"Mishler's House: The great feat of building a comfortable brick house in ten and one-half hours was accomplished by our skilled mechanics, under the direction of Benjamin Mishler, and it is, perhaps, the greatest building feat on record. All honor to our Lancaster workmen! In our mention of the several firms yesterday it was stated that John Gable & Co. did the tinning. This was an error, and should have read George Gable & Co., Mr. Gable leading the work himself. There were five tinsmiths and they laid eight hundred square feet of tin in an hour and a half. Who can beat that? It should also have been stated, in connection with the carpenter work of the building, that Major Ephraim Spera, the veteran carpenter, and now foreman of the extensive steam sash and door factory of Sturgis & Spera, superintended the carpenters—leading them nobly in the work. He was assisted by seven other first-class workmen from the establishment."

The dwelling is at present occupied by Mr. John Abele, the efficient police officer of the Fourth ward.

Long stand the "ten-hour house!"

Patent to Robert Pollock, for 1296
years in 1772, called "Dissolution"

Notes and Queries

Genealogy of Jacobs Family.

Genealogy of Jacobs family, beginning with the first immigrant, John Jacobs, of Perkiomen, down to the fourth generation:

First Generation—John Jacobs, first immigrant, of Perkiomen.

Second Generation—John Jacobs, son of John Jacobs, b 1688, d. 1773. Married Mary Hays, 1721.

Third Generation—Children of John Jacobs and Mary Hays: John, b. 1722, d. 1782; m. Elizabeth Harvard. Richard, b. 1723, m., first, Hannah Tannis; m., second, Phebe Evans. Israel, b. 1726; m. Sarah Massey. Joseph, b. 1728. Benjamin, b. 1731, unmarried. Elizabeth, b. 1732, d. 1805; m. 1761, Col. Caleb Parry, b. 1734, 9. 1776. Hannah, b. 1735, d. 1799; m. 1772, David Rittenhouse. Mary, b. 17—; m. John Goheen. Isaac, b. 1741, d. 1815; m. 1766, Hannah Trimble.

Fourth Generation—Children of John Jacob and Elizabeth Harvard: Benjamin, b. 1807; m. Elizabeth Potts, 1776. Hannah, died unmarried. John, b. 1757, d. 1846; m. Mary Brinton, 1761-1822. Sarah, m. Thomas Downing.

Land Grants to Some of the Early Welsh Settlers Around Churchtown.

Patent to David Jenkins, for 195 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres, called Federal, situated in Berks, Lancaster and Chester counties. Dated August 9, 1773.

Patent to Robert Pollock, for 125 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres in 1772, called "Desolation

Hill," in Earl township, Lancaster county, Pa.

Patent to Benjamin Jacobs for 126½ acres, applied for in 1751 by Benjamin Lightfoot, situated in Caernarvon township, Lancaster Co., Pa., called "Andover."

Patent to Benjamin Jacobs, of New Providence Twp., Philadelphia Co., for 210 acres and 66 perches, in Caernarvon Twp., Lancaster Co., Pa., called "Jacob's Ladder." Here Smith Library Building is on North Duke street, this evening. There was a good attendance of members, with some visitors—an indication that the work being accomplished by the organization is appreciated by our citizens. President Steinman was in the chair.

As this was the first meeting of the new year, the annual reports of officers were presented. The report of Secretary Heaster stated that in the ten monthly meetings held during the past year the average attendance was larger than any previous year, and the interest taken in the proceedings was evidenced by the fact that eighteen papers were read at those meetings. These papers, published in the monthly pamphlets, comprise a volume of 425 pages. The total number of pages in the eleven volumes that have been issued by the Society is 3,082 and they contained 102 illustrations. No other county historical society, the report stated, could show such a record. During the year thirteen new members were admitted, making the total 207.

Librarian Seiner's report stated that the acquisitions to the Society's library and museum during the year numbered 428 articles. To show the great value placed on the Society's publications it may be stated that the article on Commodore John Barry, by

Richard M. Kelly, has been re-appointed
to fill by the Journal of American History

Minutes of the January Meeting

Lancaster, Pa., Jan. 3, 1908.

A large amount of business and several interesting papers engaged the attention of the Lancaster County Historical Society at its regular monthly meeting in the A. Herr Smith Library Building, on North Duke street, this evening. There was a good attendance of members, with some visitors—an indication that the work being accomplished by the organization is appreciated by our citizens. President Steinman was in the chair.

As this was the first meeting of the new year, the annual reports of officers were presented. The report of Secretary Hostetter stated that in the ten monthly meetings held during the past year the average attendance was larger than any previous year, and the interest taken in the proceedings was evidenced by the fact that eighteen papers were read at these meetings. These papers, published in the monthly pamphlets, comprise a volume of 425 pages. The total number of pages in the eleven volumes that have been issued by the society is 3,082, and they contained 146 illustrations. No other county historical society, the report stated, could show such a record. During the year thirty-one new members were admitted, making the total 207.

Librarian Sener's report stated that the acquisitions to the Society's library and museum during the year numbered 488 articles. To show the great value placed on the Society's publications, it may be stated that the article on Commodore John Barry, by

Richard M. Reilly, has been reprinted in full by the Journal of American History, and other articles have been quoted from as an authority in several recent volumes, and also in several magazines. The society made a very creditable display at the Jamestown Exposition.

The report of the Treasurer, Dr. J. W. Houston, gave the following figures: Amount received from dues and initiations, \$220; from the County Commissioners, \$200; balance from 1906, \$9; total, \$429; expenditures, \$415.53; balance in treasury, \$13.67.

The report was audited and found correct by the committee, composed of S. M. Sener and D. B. Landis.

Librarian Sener reported the following donations to the Society during the past month:

Copy of Old St. David's, at Radnor, by Henry Pleasants; historical sketch of Christ Lutheran Church, by Rev. John W. Richards; post cards of McCall's Ferry dam, by S. F. MacFarren; two old newspapers, by Miss Eleanore E. Wright, of Philadelphia; three old newspapers, Mrs. Sarah L. Sentman; a framed photograph of Mishler's ten-hour house, on South Frince street, by T. Warren Metzger; a manuscript constitution of the Lancaster Female Benevolent Association, of 1816, by A. J. Auxer; three government pamphlets, from D. M. Swarr; calendar, two postal cards and copy of Souvenir Edition of the Elizabethtown Chronicle, from D. B. Landis; copies of the American Catholic Historical Researches, Pennsylvania-German Magazine and Schuylkill County Historical Society, for December, 1907, in exchange.

The annual election of officers was next in order, and, on motion of Mrs. Robinson, the Secretary was directed

to cast the ballot for those nominated at the December meeting, as follows:

President, George Steinman; First Vice President, Samuel Evans; Second Vice President, Rev. Dr. J. H. Dubbs; Recording Secretary, A. K. Hostetter; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark; Treasurer, Dr. J. W. Houston; Librarian, S. M. Sener, Esq.; Executive Committee, F. R. Diffenderffer, R.M.Reilly, Esq., Hon W. U. Hensel, George F. K. Erisman, D. B. Landis, P. A. Metzger, Mrs. Sarah B. Carpenter, Monroe B. Hirsh, H. Frank Eshleman,Esq., and Charles T. Steigerwalt.

Mrs. Frank B. FonDersmith and D. F. Magee, Esq., were elected to membership, and the following applications, which will be acted upon at the next meeting, were received: Dr. John F. Mentzer, Ephrata; I. C. Arnold, Esq., and H. E. Carson, this city.

Memorials were presented on the death of Mrs. Sarah Carpenter Hubley and Simon P. Eby, Esq., members who died during the past year.

The former Secretary, Mr. F. R. Diffenderffer, requested that his accounts be audited, and a committee, composed of Messrs. Landis and Sener, found them correct. The balance in his hands was transferred to the present Secretary.

On motion of Dr. J. W. Houston, the Secretary and Librarian were voted sufficient sums from the treasury for necessary expenses during the year.

Two very interesting papers and a poem were read. H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., read an unusually entertaining paper entitled, "The Birth of Lancaster." It was based on an old petition for the erection of Lancaster county presented in 1728 to Governor Patrick Gordon of the province of

Pennsylvania. The paper showed careful research on the part of the author and it proved one of the most interesting ever read before the Society.

The other paper was on the Mishler ten hour house, built in this city in 1873 by Dr. Benjamin Mishler. The house is still standing on South Prince street, as firm and intact as when it was built. The article was prepared by T. Warren Metzger.

"Old Lancaster" was the subject of a poem read by Mr. William Riddle.

The thanks of the society were extended to the writers of the articles and they were ordered to be published in the Society's pamphlet.

The delegates to the convention of the State Federation of Historical Societies at Harrisburg on Thursday gave reports of the gathering. It was stated that the local society had the largest representation and that along publication lines the Lancaster society led other societies of the State.

On motion the chairman was directed to call a meeting of the executive committee to arrange a programme for the ensuing monthly meeting.

Simon P. May, a prominent attorney-at-law, and a well-known citizen of Lancaster, died on November 8, 1901. He was a son of Eliza May, and was born at Willow Bank Mills in Ephrata township, on August 1, 1832. His ancestors were builders and operators of mills for five generations. The father of deceased intended that his latter should follow in his footsteps so that he was only given a limited education. He was a pupil at the celebrated Rock school at Little, and while there he made up his mind to

(57)

study law. At the age of seventeen he was installed to the mill, and soon became [REDACTED] went to [REDACTED]

In Memoriam

During the year 1907 two members of this society passed to rest. Following will be found brief sketches of them.

S. M. S.

SARAH CARPENTER HUBLEY.

Mrs. Sarah Carpenter Hubley died on August 19, 1907, after a short illness. She was fifty-three years of age, and was born in Lancaster, having been a daughter of the late Henry Carpenter, M.D. She was the widow of John E. Hubley, a well-known citizen, who died about seven years ago. She was prominent in the Lutheran Church, the Junior Missionary Society and King's Daughters of that church, the Iris Club, Donegal Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of which she was corresponding secretary; a manager of the Witmer Home and member of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Auxiliary of the General Hospital.

S. M. S.

SIMON P. EBY, ESQ.

Simon P. Eby, a prominent attorney-at-law, and a well-known citizen of Lancaster, died on November 8, 1907. He was a son of Elias Eby, and was born at Willow Bank Mills, in Elizabeth township, on August 1, 1827. His ancestors were builders and operators of mills for five generations. The father of deceased intended that the latter should follow in his footsteps, so that he was only given a limited education. He was a pupil at the celebrated Beck school at Lititz, and while there he made up his mind to

study law. At the age of seventeen he was installed in the mill, and soon became his father's first assistant in farming, milling and ore hauling. While working he studied Blackstone by night. In 1850 the mills were destroyed by fire, and his father lost the savings of a lifetime. Afterwards he was elected sheriff, but he was never again able to recover from the fire. When elected sheriff the elder Eby moved to this city, and in the spring of 1852 the subject of this sketch began the study of law with Isaac E. Hiester. He was admitted to the bar on April 26, 1854.

He was a member of the city school board for years, and finally declined further election. For a time he was chairman of the committee on night schools and once delivered a course of lectures on natural history. He always advocated the study of German in the city schools. For twenty-one years he was a vestryman of St. James' Church and treasurer of the Bishop Bowman Home. For years he was interested in the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and was the society's counsel.

Mr. Eby spent much of his time on a farm near Mountville, and was an ardent horticulturist, and strongly advocated the protection of the forests. For years he was librarian and counsel for the Lancaster County Agricultural and Horticultural Society, and was elected an honorary member in recognition of his honorable and active service.

In 1863 Mr. Eby was married to Miss Amelia F. Mengle, a daughter of Henry Mengle, of Berks county. She survives with their only son, John Henry Eby.

S. M. S.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR
1908.

President,
GEORGE STEINMAN.

Vice Presidents,
SAMUEL EVANS,
JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS, DD., LL.D.

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A. K. HOSTETTER.

Corresponding Secretary,
MISS MARTHA B. CLARK.

Treasurer,
JOSEPH W. HOUSTON, M.D.

Librarian,
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Executive Committee.

F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT. D.
R. M. REILLY, ESQ.
HON. W. U. HENSEL,
GEORGE F. K. ERISMAN,
D. B. LANDIS,
P. A. METZGER,
MRS. SARA B. CARPENTER,
MONROE B. HIRSH,
H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, ESQ.
CHARLES T. STEIGERWALT.

(60)

pamphlets and 434 pages. The total number of pages in the eleven volumes is 2,000. The total number of publications is 89.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Lancaster, January 3, 1908.

Fellow members of The Lancaster County Historical Society: We have recently closed another volume of Father Time's proceedings and are entering upon a new one. Likewise, this Society has also closed another volume of its proceedings, and is preparing the first pages of a new volume.

The volume of the Society which was closed last month, I take great pleasure in stating, represents a year of prosperity, such as the Society has never before experienced, and our membership, which is so rapidly increasing, is working together diligently and harmoniously for the best interests of the organization.

Ten monthly meetings were held by the Society with a larger average attendance than any previous year, and the interest taken in the proceedings is evidenced by the fact that eighteen papers were read at those meetings, some of which brought out lengthy and instructive discussions not only by the members, but by visitors to our meetings.

These papers were published in the ten pamphlets which were issued during the year, and comprise volume eleven of our publications, numbering 425 pages.

In making a summary of our work, we find that in the eleven volumes of our publications that have so far appeared, there have been eighty-nine separate pamphlets published. The smallest was No. 5, with only five pamphlets and 151 pages. Our largest volume was No. 10, containing eleven

pamphlets and 434 pages. The total number of pages in the eleven volumes is 3,082. The total number of illustrations that have appeared in our publications to the present time is 146. No other County Historical Society in the State can show such a record of work done during the same period.

During the past year thirty-one new members were taken into the Society, making a total of 207, while five additional applicants are awaiting their election in the new year. This number exceeds all previous years, except that in which the re-organization of the Society took place.

On June 27, the Society held its annual outing at Accomac, on the Susquehanna, opposite the borough of Marietta, on which occasion we had for our guests some thirty members of the Berks County Historical Society. The occasion proved to be a very enjoyable one.

With such a satisfactory record as this is, there seems to be only one cause for regret, and that is, the fact that we do not have a home of our own, where we can display to their best advantage, all the valuable publications, pictures and relics which our friends so generously present to us. Besides, it is a well-known fact that other valuable presentations would be made to us, if we only had a more permanent place for preserving them.

A. K. HOSTETTER,
Secretary.

Recent engravings of historical subjects have appeared in the annual volume and on three occasions have been cut away, which have appeared in magazines and been properly credited to our society.

Recently the article on Commodore John Barry, by Richard M. Kelly.

Esq., has been reported to fall in the
Journal of American History.

Your Librarian has also noted that
out

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

To Officers and Members of Lancaster
County Historical Society.

Your Librarian would respectfully
report that during the year 1907 the
acquisitions of the Society's library
and museum numbered 488 articles,
as follows:

Bound volumes	91
Almanacs	26
Bound volumes, etc., by purchase.	52
Pamphlets	241
Maps, curios, etc.....	28
Photographs, postal cards and other pictures	39
Old newspapers	11
<hr/>	
	488
<hr/>	

During the year there were 25 vol-
umes bound, and the large bookcase
was repaired and painted. The rear
room occupied by the society on the
third floor was repapered, and new
shades placed at the windows.

There are now thirty exchanges on
our exchange list, and from this
source we received twenty magazines
or publications for the year, the re-
maining societies having sent us
bound volumes or reports, which are
included in the bound volume item in
this report. During the year the so-
ciety has become the owner of nine-
teen engravings of illustrations which
have appeared in its annual volume
and on three occasions has loaned
cuts away, which have appeared in
magazines and been properly cred-
ited to our society.

Recently the article on Commodore
John Barry, by Richard M. Reilly,

Esq., has been reprinted in full in the Journal of American History.

Your Librarian has also noted that our society's publication has been quoted from as an authority in several recent volumes, and also in several magazines.

Our society made a very creditable display at the Jamestown Exposition, and our exhibit from there is expected to arrive home shortly.

Our library rooms were visited during the year by a dozen or more out-of-town parties in search of data, prominent among such being Gustave Anjois, of New York.

Your Librarian would recommend placing upon the exchange list the Tioga County Historical Society and the Cambridge, Mass., Historical Society, both being by request from those organizations.

Among the prominent donors were Senator W. C. Sproul, of West Chester; Mr. Harris Boardman, Miss Ida Sprecher, F. R. Diffenderffer, Samuel Evans, Esq., Mr. S. F. McFarren, Miss Mary W. Russell, Mrs. Mary Baumgardner, Hon. W. U. Hensel, Miss A. L. Kerfoot and S. M. Sener. Among those from whom a large number of volumes were received in exchange courtesy were the Pennsylvania State Library, the New York State Library and the Bureau of Ethnology.

Your Librarian begs to extend thanks to members and others for various acts of courtesy extended to him during the year. All of which is respectfully submitted.

S. M. SENER, Librarian.
Lancaster, January 3, 1908.

PAPERS READ

REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

To Officers and Members of Lancaster County Historical Society:

The annual report of the Treasurer shows that during the year the amount of money received from dues and initiations was \$220.00
From Lancaster County 200.00
Balance from 1906 9.00

Total \$429.00

The expenditures were \$415.33

Leaving balance of \$ 13.67

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. W. HOUSTON, Treasurer.

Lancaster, January 3, 1908.

We, the undersigned auditors, appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer for 1907, do respectfully report that we have examined the same and compared the vouchers, and would respectfully report the same to be correct, showing a balance of \$13.67 in the treasury.

D. B. LANDIS,
S. M. SENER.

LANCASTER, PA.

REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.

1908.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

67-70

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FEBRUARY 7, 1908.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

By Rev. CHARLES L. LOVINS

The Pennsylvania Dutch

By Prof. ALBERT JONASCH, H.A.B.

With Notes by W. C. COOPER, A.M., F.R.S.

AN OLD NEWSPAPER.

Minutes of the Meeting

THE PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH.

MINUTES OF THE FEBRUARY MEETING.

VOL. XII. NO. 2.

LANCASTER, PA.

REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.

1908.

67-70

AN OLD NEWSPAPER

Recently there came into my hands a file of *The Hive*, a weekly newspaper published in this city more than one hundred years ago. It consists of two volumes, the initial number being of the date of June 28, 1803, and the last number of June 12, 1805. I suppose few of our citizens know much about this publication, though some of its numbers have been carefully

An Old Newspaper, "The Hive"

71

BY HON. CHARLES I. LANDIS

The Pennsylvania Dutch

82

BY PROF. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

WITH NOTES BY F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, LITT.D.

Minutes of the February Meeting

101

page paper, in size ten inches by eight and a-half inches, and would now be scarcely considered as a respectable pamphlet.

The original publisher was Clinton McDowell, and he launched his paper with the following announcement: "The first number of *The Hive* is offered to the ladies and gentlemen of Lancaster and its vicinity as a specimen. The editor or some person authorized by him will call in the course of a few days on those subscribers who have not yet paid their advances. Subscriptions will be received in this borough by Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Dickson, and by the editor at the *Hive* office, nearly opposite the sign of William Pitt, in East King street."

The sign of the William Pitt was a hotel, situated on East King street, where are now the premises of

AN OLD NEWSPAPER

John ...
Harp...
Dow...

Recently there came into my hands a file of *The Hive*, a weekly newspaper published in this city more than one hundred years ago. It consists of two volumes, the initial number being of the date of June 22, 1803, and the last number of June 12, 1805. I suppose few of our citizens know much about this publication, though some of the volumes have been carefully preserved. Messrs. Ferd A. and Henry C. Demuth have the only full file which I have seen; but, of the second volume, one copy belongs to Miss Sue Jeffries, having come to her from Miss Susan Hambright, a daughter of William Hambright; another is owned by Mrs. Emma M. Groff; and a third is in the possession of the President of this Society. *The Hive* was a small four-page paper, in size ten inches by eight and a-half inches, and would now be scarcely considered as a respectable pamphlet.

The original publisher was Charles McDowell, and he launched his paper with the following announcement: "The first number of *The Hive* is offered to the ladies and gentlemen of Lancaster and its vicinity as a specimen. The editor or some person authorized by him will call in the course of a few days on those subscribers who have not yet paid their advances. Subscriptions will be received in this borough by Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Dickson, and by the editor at the *Hive* office, nearly opposite the sign of William Pitt, in East King street."

The sign of the William Pitt was a hotel, situated on East King street, where are now the residence of Ferd A. Demuth and the law offices of John E. Snyder and S. Z. Moore, Esqs. The old sign is in Mr. Demuth's possession, and is in a fairly good state of preservation. A photograph of it is herewith presented to the Society. The date of 1808 and the name "Henry Difffenbach" were evidently placed upon it by the subsequent proprietor. In after years, the Anti-Masonic Party had their headquarters at this hostelry, and on one occasion the complete demolition of the front of the building by their opponents, who had headquarters at what is now the Lancaster County House, bears witness to the strenuous politics of long ago. The place of publication of The Hive was called the Sign of the Bee Hive, and I have been told that it was the present Excelsior Hall property. I have, however, been unable to verify this information. It was undoubtedly somewhere in that vicinity, as it was nearly opposite the William Pitt; but I have failed to identify the location with exactness. At the top of the first issue Mr. McDowell addressed the public in insistent poetic strains:

"Be thou the first, our efforts to befriend.
His praise is lost, who stays till all command."

On November 14, 1804, the announcement was made that a partnership had been entered into with William Greear, under the firm name of McDowell & Greear. It was also stated that the Hive office had "been considerably enlarged with a neat and general assortment of printing material," and that the firm was thereby

"enabled to execute all kinds of printing in a superior style of elegance on the shortest notice and on most moderate terms." An interesting sketch of this William Greear, by Samuel Evans, Esq., will be found in Vol. 9, p. 327, of the reports of this Society. After two years' existence proposals were issued for the publication "in this borough" of "a weekly newspaper to be entitled The Lancaster True American," and the editors announced that they contemplated publishing the new journal "on paper similar in size and quality to that which is generally used for the Philadelphia daily papers, at the moderate price of two dollars per annum, payable in half yearly advances;" that it would be published independently of any interested party attachment and with special reference to the principles of truth and purity." Thus, The Hive closed its career, and The True American became its successor.

In the olden day, a weekly newspaper contained little local news, and, in fact, very little of any kind. Here and there and at rare intervals can be found items of special interest. The theory on which newspapers were edited, so far as local happenings were concerned, was that everybody knew of the home affairs, and it was, therefore, unnecessary to print their details. The Hive followed its compeers in this respect, and even what are now considered the great events of those times we find completely ignored. You can look in vain for any notice or discussion of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, or of the crowning of Napoleon as Emperor of France in 1804. Such things were either locally unheard of, or deemed of no importance to its subscribers and the community in which it circu-

lated. There are found in its pages essays by contributors upon a variety of subjects, chiefly devoted to morals; poems by local talent, and (here and there) by some acknowledged genius, such as Burns; a few communications to the editors, and notices of marriages and deaths. Occasionally only a news item.

We find that, "on the 7th inst. (of September, 1804), as Mr. James Cochran of this county was driving his team (the waggoner being sick) on the State Road on this side of Greensburg, in attempting to mount the saddle horse, the creature started and threw him on his head in such position that the wheels passed over his thighs, one of which was broken. This occurred about nine o'clock in the morning, the bone was not set until seven in the evening, and he died about midnight, in the 37th year of his age." On September 12, under the head of "Melancholy," it is stated: "We have been informed that on Sunday last Henry McCausland was killed at the house of William Tweed, in Sadsbury township.....by a son of Philip McGuire of the same neighborhood, in a drunken frolic;" and that there had "died on Monday, the 24th ult. (September), at the house of Daniel Witmer, at the Conestoga Bridge, a stranger, who arrived there on the preceding day, extremely ill and speechless;" that "it is thought by his papers that his name was James Stewart, that he was an inhabitant of Mifflin county, and an officer in the Militia;" that he had "left in the possession of Mr. Witmer about ninety pounds in money, a gold watch, a sorrel horse, and sundry papers, which Mr. Witmer requests the friends of the deceased to apply for and receive." The remains were interred

in the burial ground of the English Presbyterian Church. John Bradburn, who maintained a circulating library, about December, 1803, gave notice that "those who return books safe have double chances for a second reading," and that "the subscriber having lent the following books to certain individuals of this Borough, which they have not returned, he hath become desirous of having them once more in his possession." Attached is a list of the books. In the subsequent year he publishes a second card earnestly requesting "those persons who have borrowed books from the subscriber to return them as soon as possible, as he intends shortly to remove from the Borough." In one issue, "One Dollar Reward" is offered because there was "lost on Sunday evening last, between Witmer's Bridge and Binkley's Mill, on the road leading to Strasburgh, a green umbrella," which whoever found was to deliver to the printers and receive the reward; and, in another, Mr. Bernard begged "leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen and the public in general that he had for sale at the house of Mr. William Ferree, Sign of General Washington, in East King street, an extensive assortment of dry goods, consisting of silk and cotton stockings, shawls, ribbon, silk gloves, silk handkerchiefs, spangled shawls, plain shawls, pin cushions, suspenders, and pearls of all colors; likewise an elegant assortment of jewelry of good gold, ornamented combs and hair-neck laces, Paris fashion." It can be surmised the fate which would befall the modern newspapers with general advertisements for two years of this scant number. It may be interesting to some to know the location of the sign of General Wash-

ington. It was a two-story stone building on the south side of East King street, immediately west of what was then the banking house of The Farmers' Bank of Lancaster, now Farmers' Trust Company. In fact, it was the property lately purchased by Albert Hupper, confectioner. The dimensions of the lot were then as they are now, thirty-two feet two and one-quarter inches on East King street, with a depth of 136 feet. In 1803 the property was owned by Stephan Martin, who by will proven May 25, 1804, devised it to his wife, Catharine Martin. It was afterwards, in 1823, sold to David Miller, known to local fame as "Devil Dave Miller," and the purchase price was \$2,550. It was recently sold to Mr. Hupper for \$51,000.

The cause of education receives attention. James Ross, "the professor of the Latin and Greek languages in Franklin College, gives, with the approbation of the principal, notice that the examination in these will begin on the 22nd of this instant (September, 1803), at nine o'clock in the morning and at three in the evening." That "the vacation commences on the 23rd and ends on the 8th of October. Exercises begin promptly on Monday, the 10th." This James Ross was the author of "Select Fables of Aesop" in Latin and English. The book was published in 1804 by Burnside & Smith, on North Queen street. A copy, and perhaps the only one in existence, is in possession of the writer. On September 28, 1803, Francis A. Latta, Charles Cummins and John Waugh certify that "By appointment of the Presbytery of New Castle, met at this place, we this day visited the school under the care of Messrs. John Riddle and James McCulloch, and consider it incumbent upon us to declare

our opinion that the specimens which the pupils gave of their proficiency are alike honorable to the teachers and to them. We cannot forbear to add our wishes that gentlemen of talents and zeal employed so usefully may receive encouragement and support proportioned to their exertions and their merit." The school room of Mr. McCulloch was on North Queen street. In it, on Saturday evenings, at six o'clock, during the winter of 1803-1804, met the Lancaster Polemic Society. They discussed various questions of State, among which was: "Have the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania a right to declare a law of the Commonwealth unconstitutional and void?" The meeting determined the question in the negative; but time and the Courts have long since reversed the finding. Another question submitted was: "Is novel reading useful or pernicious to the fair sex?" It was determined that it was pernicious. In 1804, George Correl made it known that he would "attend young ladies and gentlemen at their respective homes a few hours in the day on moderate terms for the purpose of teaching English grammar according to the system of Louth, Ash, Davis or Murray."

The senior publisher was evidently a susceptible young man. One of his first essays is a "Panegyric on the Married State," and scattered through both volumes are evidences of his inclinations. The motto appearing at the beginning of the second volume indicates his purpose to be:

"To wake the soul to tender strokes
of art;
To raise the genius and to mend the
heart."

It is to be hoped that he accomplished his object; but the pathway

would seem to have been not a bed of roses. The subscription price was two dollars per year, payable half-yearly. Subscribers were equally slow then, as now, in paying their bills; the agents were also a source of trouble; and the publisher was in distress. Notice is given that "such of our agents as have received money on account of The Hive are requested to forward it as soon as possible;" also, that "those who write to the editor by mail must pay the postage of their letters, otherwise they will not be attended to, as he is determined not to release them." In another issue, it is stated that "the young gentleman who withdrew his name from The Hive subscription list last week on the plea of its being too dear is respectfully informed that it is published on the same conditions as those mentioned in the proposals, and that we could not afford to print it on more reasonable terms without materially injuring ourselves. We wish him to observe that printers must live as well as paper-makers."

The marriage and death notices contain many familiar names. Thus, on July 31, 1803, appear notices of the deaths of Miss Maria Ross, eldest daughter of Gen. James Ross, in her twenty-first year; of William Musser, in the fortieth year of his age; and also on September 3 of Charles Frederick Heinitsch, druggist, in his sixty-sixth year. In the issue of June 28, 1804, it was mentioned that Jacob Sheaffer, merchant, who was esteemed as a good neighbor and an honest man, had died in the fifty-eighth year of his age; on September 12, that Brigadier General Benjamin Mills, "an early active, uniformed friend of the American Revolution," had died in Mount Joy township; and on Febru-

ary 5, 1805, notice was given of the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Slaymaker, wife of Henry Slaymaker, in the thirty-third year of her age. About the same time is noted the death of James Ross, son of General James Ross. It is stated that he was on his passage from Washington, North Carolina, to New York, and in attempting to go ashore at the castle in company with a passenger the boat got into the breakers, and both were drowned.

On September 28, 1803, William Haverstick, Jr., was married to Miss Catharine Musser, daughter of George Musser, by Rev. Dr. Henry Muhlenberg; and on June 22, Samuel Bethel, Esq., to Miss Sally Hand, daughter of the late General Edward Hand, by Rev. Mr. Clarkson. On December 28, Mr. Chester C. Smith was married to Miss Ann Hubley, daughter of the late Bernard Hubley, and on January 11, 1804, Mr. Daniel Dinckel, of York, to Miss Rebecca Steinman, daughter of Mr. Frederick Steinman. On Thursday evening, April 11, 1804, Mr. Jacob Demuth was married to Miss Elizabeth Eberman, by the Rev. Mr. Reinicke; and on May 10, 1804, General Franklin Davenport, of Woodbury, New Jersey, to Miss Sarah Barton Zantzinger, daughter of Paul Zantzinger, Esq. Miss Zantzinger was a granddaughter of the Rev. Thomas Barton, the rector of St. James' Episcopal Church before and at the time of the Revolution. Mr. Barton left Lancaster because he was unable to support the new government. He joined Howe's army as a Chaplain, and afterwards died in New York and was buried in St. George's Chapel. When he left he was possessed of considerable real estate, among which was a lot called "Barton Garden," containing in front on East Orange street 64

feet 4½ inches and in depth along Lime street 245 feet. It was afterwards known as the Botanical Garden of Christopher Marshall. Part of this lot was owned by Judge J. Hay Brown, who has just sold it. Under an Act of Assembly passed at Lancaster on April 1, 1778, P. L. 123, it was provided that any person, except those guilty of treason or misprision, who should choose to sell his real estate and retire out of the estate, and should apply to the Executive Council before the following first of June, might receive permission to make conveyance of the same. In accordance therewith Mr. Barton made application to the Executive Council, and, on May 30, 1778, under the hand of the Honorable George Bryan, Vice President, and the great seal of the State, authority was given to him to sell his real estate within ninety days to any person whatsoever. Thereupon he, on August 26, 1778, made a deed in fee simple for the above-mentioned lot to Paul Zantzinger, his son-in-law.

On September 12, 1804, Dr. James Ancrim and Miss Rachel Steele, daughter of William Steele, of Drumore township, were married by Rev. Mr. Martin; and it was announced that, on November 1, 1804, Mr. Ceasar Rodney Wilson, late of Dover, Delaware, was married at Wilkes-Barre to Miss Harriet Tracey, of Norwich, Connecticut. It can be supposed that Mr. Wilson was related to Ceasar Rodney, of Delaware, the signer. On November 18 appears the notice that Mr. Conrad Doll had married Miss Molly Graff, daughter of Andrew Graff, Esq., who was then Associate Lay Judge of this county. About February, 1805, Captain Slough married Miss Polly Graeff, daughter of Jacob Graeff; Mr. John Long (John F. Long, well-known to all

of us) to Miss Polly Hager, daughter of Christopher Hager; and on March 20, 1805, Mr. Edward Mott to Miss Faithful Slaymaker, daughter of Amos Slaymaker, Esq. Capt. Slough, mentioned above, was the son of Col. Matthias Slough. Like his father, he was a leading inn-keeper in this city. He died in 1839. Appended to another notice is the impressive couplet:

"Hand in hand
To church they walked, the loveliest
pair."

This about completes the summary of our review. It has been truly said that the lapse of twenty-five years makes trivial things of the past entertaining. A new generation has appeared, to whom they are again new, and those to whom they were once familiar even recall these bygone recollections with interest. In progression does that interest increase with the passing of a century.

not the result of personal knowledge or experience except in so far as he was able to gather it during a few days' visit to Lancaster county, it was hardy to be expected that he would be as correct in his statements and as reliable in his deductions as could be desired. The result has been that his article, while not without a certain value, is nevertheless regarded as too unfair to be allowed to pass unquestioned. Indeed, there is so much in it that requires notice that if all the objectionable points were carefully commented upon another article of almost equal length would be required. As that is impossible, only some of the more important ones are noted.

V. R. D.

"Assimilation" is the task which now presses most weightfully upon

the American people; and the controversy over the restriction of immigration practically turns upon the

THE PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH

INTRODUCTION.

The following paper, written by Albert Bushnell Hart, Professor of History in Harvard University, author of a number of historical works, and editor of a recently completed series of historical volumes, has resulted in the publication of more criticisms and protests by various writers in Pennsylvania than any similar production of which we have any knowledge. There is no doubt Professor Hart meant to be fair to the people of whom he writes—he is himself a Pennsylvanian—but, as all his information—or misinformation—was derived at second hand, and is not the result of personal knowledge or experience except in so far as he was able to gather it during a ten-days' visit to Lancaster county, it was hardly to be expected that he would be as correct in his statements and as reliable in his deductions as could be desired. The result has been that his article, while not without a certain value, is nevertheless regarded as too unfair to be allowed to pass unquestioned. Indeed, there is so much in it that requires notice that if all the objectionable points were carefully commented upon another article of almost equal length would be required. As that is impossible, only some of the more important ones are noted.

F. R. D.

"Assimilation" is the task which now presses most weightfully upon

the American people; and the controversy over the restriction of immigration practically turns upon the question whether the newcomers are likely to become Americans, or at least the fathers and mothers of Americans. One party unkindly compares Uncle Sam to an ostrich which envelops pebbles, nails and broken glass, but does not digest them; on the other side, people point to the indisputable fact that every American is an emigrant or the descendant of an emigrant. The matter is getting serious in view of the fact that of the ninety millions of Americans about fifty millions are not descended from English ancestors; and we are all accustomed to the generalization that New York has more Germans than Breslau, more Irish than Dublin, more Italians than Milan; and that Chicago is a great roaring polyglot Vanity Fair, in which all nations may hear their own tongues and be injured by their own cookery.

A Distinct Type To-Day.

This question of the foreigner and his attitude to the native population is as old as the United States. Roger Harlakenden among the Pilgrims was clearly of Dutch descent; French Huguenots tried to settle the Carolinas a century before the English were permanently established; and in several of the colonies, as at Palatine Bridge, New York, New-Berne, North Carolina, and Salzburg, Georgia, there were early German settlements; while into other colonies poured a stream of the tough and vigorous Scotch-Irish. It is not an accident that Antrim, Dublin and Derry can be found in New Hampshire, and Donegal in Pennsylvania; for the Scotch-Irish

and some of the purer Irish were among the early colonists. By far the largest infusion of foreigners, however, was the settlement of Germans in Pennsylvania, for it was not only numerous, but prolific, both in stout children and in religious sectaries, so that in colonial times it was in civilization and the character of the population different from other parts of the same colony. After nearly two centuries of life in America these people who have received very few accessions from Germany since the American Revolution are still separate, and show little signs of complete absorption into the remainder of the community. Here is, therefore, a test, or rather a suggestion, as to the future of other races which are forming colonies in the midst of the English-speaking population.¹

This race element is commonly called the Pennsylvania Dutch, a term taken rather ill by educated people, who much prefer to be known as "Pennsylvania Germans," but the ordinary farmer, though he perfectly knows the difference between a Holland Dutchman and a German, commonly speaks of himself and his family as "Dutch." Nobody knows how many of them there are, for they are, of course, included in the census reports as native born Americans, chil-

¹Professor Hart expresses surprise that the German immigrants and their descendants have not been absorbed by the other nationalities around them. To-day fully 75 per cent. of the people of Lancaster county are German or of German descent. Is it a wonder that 25 per cent. of English and Welsh and Irish have not absorbed them? The wonder rather is that a people so virile and "stout in children" have not absorbed the numerically inferior races around them. Nor is it correct to say the German element in the State has "received very few accessions from Germany since the American Revolution." It has received thousands.

children of native born parents; but the counties of Lancaster, Lebanon, Dauphin, York, Cumberland and Berks, which contain more than 700,000 people, are probably over half Pennsylvania Dutch; half a million would be a low estimate for the total number of these people within the State of Pennsylvania alone.²

Very Much Mixed Language.

But it must not be supposed that there is only one kind of Pennsylvania Dutchman; experts enumerate at least six main varieties, divided according to their church; of the first are the ordinary German Lutherans; then the United Brethren, or Moravians; then the Dunkers, a Baptist sect; and then the three closely allied sects of Old Mennonites, New Mennonites and Amish. Among themselves these various religious bodies have as many points of repulsion as of attraction; but they unite in obstinately sticking to two languages that are not English.³ The first is high German, so widely used that the annual edition of the "Neur Gemeineueziger Pennsylvanischer Calendar," which is now in its seventy-eighth annual issue, is printed by the hundred

²First and foremost, Pennsylvanians object to Professor Hart's persistence in calling those Pennsylvanians of German descent "Pennsylvania Dutch." He explains why he does so, but the fact that they are not Dutch is admitted by himself, and yet throughout his paper he persists in this offense against taste and truth.

³Here again Prof. Hart has fallen into error. His attempt to divide the Pennsylvania Germans into "six main varieties," according to their religious beliefs, is a mistake. They differ in their forms of belief, and in that only. They are one in point of nationality, and the dialect they speak is the same. But to say, as he does, the German Lutherans are one "variety" and the German Baptists another, is wholly wrong.

thousand, and includes among the saints' days the birth feasts of Adam and Eve, David and Benjamin Franklin. The second tongue is spoken and not written; yet it is not the Americanized kind of German that one hears in "Over the Rhine" in Cincinnati. The Pennsylvania Dutch speak what is often called a "dialect," but is really a barbarous compound of German and English words in German idiom, somewhat resembling that mixture of Hebrew and German called Yiddish. Infinite are the quaint turns of this so-called language which is freely spoken and understood by several hundred thousand people, and has even been made the vehicle for verse, especially that of Rev. Dr. Harbaugh, who wrote a volume of poems called "Harbaugh's Haerfe," with an English transliteration of the opposite pages. Some phrases will illustrate this speech. "Kookamulto" is an almost unrecognizable form of "Gucka' Malla." "Buggy-forray" is Pennsylvania Dutch for "Im Wagen fahren." A droll phrase, especially applicable to this season of the year, "Is your off off?" meaning, "Is your vacation over?"⁴ A lawyer of large experience

⁴Perhaps Prof. Hart deviates from the actual facts most widely in trying to tell what language or dialect the Pennsylvania Germans speak. "A barbarous compound of German and English words in German idiom" is what he terms it. If his acquaintance with the Pfälzisch and South German dialects was more intimate he would never have written those words. Here is an example from a South German poem, in which all the words are such as are daily used by the average Pennsylvania German:

Wan die Beem un' Hecke
Gansvoll Veggle hucke,
Un' die Deckel schnecke
Aus der Hausen gucke,
Dan isch Frijohr worre.

But this branch of the subject is so clear as to require no further demonstration. The authorities are overwhelming.

and knowledge, former Attorney General of the State, declares that he has heard a Dutch justice say, "Ich habe suit jebrought und execution geis-sued." The same eminent lawyer de-poses that within about two years he happened to go into a Court where proceedings among Dutchmen were going on before a Dutch justice, the witnesses being examined in Pennsylvania Dutch. It takes division of words to English, unconsciously resumed his questioning in English, to which the witness replied in English; presently, without anybody's noticing it, the witness fell back into Pennsylvania Dutch, and after a little the counsel also took up that tongue. Meanwhile a stenographer was busy taking down the testimony, and when asked what language he used, he answered, "Oh, mein Gott, I take notes in English, and nobody boarded ever finds any fault."

An example of phonetic transliteration of the dialect is as follows: "Der klea meant mer awer, sei net recht g'sund, for er kreisht ols so greisel-heftick orrick in der nacht. De olt Lawbucksy behawpt er is mer aw gewocksa heast, un meant mer set braucha defcre," which in German would be "Der kleines meint mir aber, sei nicht recht gesund das er schreit aus so greuel heftig arg in der nacht alte Lawbucks in behauptet er ist was wir gewachsen heissen, und meint wir sollten brauchen defauer." In English, "The child seems to me not to be quite well, for he screamed so cruel hard in the night. Lawbucks' woman insists he has dropsy, and thinks that we ought to do something for it." A copy of a singular example of an inscription in Pennsyl-

vania Dutch hangs in the house of General Hensel, near Lancaster:

GOTGESEGNEISESHAU
UNTALES WAS DAGEGETEINUNT
AUSGOTGESEGENALESAMPTUNT
DARFVDASCANZELANTGOTAL
EINDIEHPSONNSTKEINEMMENS
CHENMEHRANNO 1759 IAHRS
PETERBRICKERELISABETH
BRICHERIN.

It takes close attention and a subdivision of the puzzle into component words to discover that this is a German inscription put up by Peter Bricker and his "Brickeress," asking "God to bless this house and all that goes therein or out and all authority and the village and the pulpit, and to God alone be the honor, else mankind no more. Anno the year 1759." One of the worst specimens of Pennsylvania Dutch on record was recorded by an ear-witness as follows: "Ich habe mein Haus geshingled und geclap-boarded." Although anybody who knows some German can catch the sense of Pennsylvania Dutch, none but an adept could express his more elusive emotions in this tongue.

Not Over-Friendly to Education.

As a matter of fact, probably seven-tenths of the Pennsylvania Dutch can talk English, and many of them perfect English; still there are many thousands who are dependent upon the jargon for communication with their fellowmen. The Pennsylvania Dutchman does not favor too much education for young people because he says "it makes them lazy," if pushed a little farther, he defines his saying to mean that if young people are too much educated they are not willing to stay on the farm; and farm work is what people are made for.

It is one of the mysteries of the situation that the free schools have not long since broken up and dispelled the Pennsylvania Dutch lingo, as they have disposed of so many other foreign languages. One trouble is, that the free schools of Pennsylvania were not founded until well on in the nineteenth century, and to this day the State authorities are not rigorous in enforcing the requirements as to the length of the school term and the character of the teaching; furthermore, in many communities the children are all or nearly all Pennsylvania Dutch, and are not driven by that wholesome desire to be like their neighbors, which causes many foreign-born children to shake off their accent. Nevertheless, there are several colleges kept up by the Pennsylvania Dutch churches, and many of the sects have an educated minister.⁵

Odd Old Lancaster.

Some of the children of Pennsylvania Dutch families find their way into the great world at last, and many of them might compete in outward show

⁵This is a misstatement. There are not many Pennsylvania Germans who do not understand English. In Lancaster county nearly all of them take English newspapers, and read them, too. What he means when he says "The Pennsylvania Dutchman (we are certain he did not see one during his visit to Lancaster county) does not favor too much education for young people," we do not know, but we do know that all their children go to English schools and many of them to Normal Schools, and themselves become teachers. He speaks about "Dutch" colleges. Well, we never heard of them, but we do know that Muhlenberg, Franklin and Marshall, Dickinson and Pennsylvania College are very largely patronized by Pennsylvania-German students. That does not look as if the fathers were afraid "of too much education."

with Yankees, for the Pennsylvania Dutch are a rich people. The most interesting and probably the most thriving place in the Dutch counties is Lancaster, which in the time of the Revolution was already so important that the Continental Congress sat there for a time. Its conservatism is shown by the existence on one street of five business houses, carried on under the same firm name as one hundred and forty years ago. It is almost the only town in the United States which still possesses two of the old-fashioned inns where you drive through an archway into a courtyard surrounded by galleries, such as Dickens loved to describe.

How many thousand stamping horses have kept how many thousand guests awake in the old Leopard Inn, at Lancaster! There in Lancaster and the other cities of the region the Pennsylvania Dutch for the most part have thrown over their peculiar ways and have become identified with the rest of the community—so much so as sometimes to be observers of the peculiarities of their countrymen. The typical Pennsylvania Dutchman is a farmer, possessing a smaller or a greater (usually a greater) quantity of that bountiful soil which, properly enriched, makes Lancaster county the richest agricultural county in the United States. Somewhere on this property is one of those enormous barns, with an overhang for handling the cattle; and incidentally there is a house, which, though on a much smaller scale than the barn, is usually neat and almost invariably clean.*

*A few amendments are made in the above paragraph—a few bouquets thrown to our "Pennsylvania Dutchmen," but with a qualification. The barns are set above the farmhouses. Nine times out of ten the modern

The farming would take away the breath of a Kansas or Texas brother, for beef cattle are raised in considerable numbers alongside splendid crops of grain; but in Lancaster county the product of most value is tobacco; and it is a truth vouched for by experts that from one farm of 130 acres last year was taken \$11,000 in tobacco besides \$3,000 worth of other crops. Almost every square yard of the countryside is under cultivation, till you reach the hilltops, where there is some woodland; it is like Iowa for the sweep of completely occupied farmlands. The ordinary farm team is still four horses, with a man mounted on the near wheel horse, although the old-fashioned Conestoga wagons, which in old times could be seen in trains of as many as two-hundred together, with its high body looking like the forecastle and aftercastle of a seventeenth-century ship, and its canvas top, has almost disappeared.

True Peasants.

These are the canny people from whose savings arise banks and trust companies; whose trade makes part of the wealth of the thriving cities; whose capital has constructed a network of trolleys; whose investments extend throughout the Union; yet the true Pennsylvania Dutchman is never a "country gentleman;" he likes to have money, and will spend large sums for anything upon which he sets his heart, but has a thick streak of resolute determination not to part with his money on slight occasion. It was one of the

farmhouse is a stone or brick building, of ample proportions, comfortable and inviting, and often with hot and cold water, steam heat and other modern fancies. There is none better anywhere, and very few so good.

many brilliant generalizations of the late Nathaniel Shaler that one of the main difficulties with American Government, and especially with city government, is the attempt of a foreign peasant class to adapt itself to urban life. Now the true peasant is hardly to be found anywhere in the United States, outside the rural Negroes of the South; the Southern poor white has not the peasant's thrift; the Western farmer is a yeoman and not a yokel; the New England agriculturist is a town meeting in himself. The Pennsylvania Dutch are, however, genuine peasants, much of the type of the well-to-do French peasant, accustomed to a simple and inexpensive life, unterrified by the accumulation of money, extravagantly fond of owning land, and therefore showing striking contrasts of standard and behavior. Here is one example taken from a recent personal experience. There is in Lancaster county a Pennsylvania Dutchman, a cigar manufacturer, on a small scale, who lives in a very comfortable house, recently enlarged, and is known to be "well-fixed." A party of visitors came to his place, but Heinrich was away and the honors of the place were done by Mrs. Heinrich, a stately and handsome woman, who would have been at perfect ease with the Governor of the Commonwealth had he been one of the company; and did the honors of the place as a duchess might have done. When someone noticed a handsome porcelain refrigerator standing in the living room, and asked if he might look into it, she replied with perfect serenity, "Oh, yes; but there isn't anything in it but newspapers. You see it's thisaway, Heinrich thinks we don't need ice because we got such a cool

cellar and so we don't use that refrigerator." "But where is Heinrich to-day?" Oh, you see it's thisaway, we started, yesterday, off in one of our automobiles and it broke down, and we had to come home in the trolley; and so to-day Heinrich, he took our other automobile, and he's gone to get that one fixed." Heinrich is a dabbster in automobiles, buying and selling to buy a better one; and he is perfectly willing to pay a hundred or two dollars for a refrigerator; but what is the use of laying out money on ice, when you have such a cool cellar?

Dutchmen Drive Out Irish.

It is only when on the ground that one realizes that the Pennsylvania Dutch are not the only individual and discordant factor in that State; Central Pennsylvania was settled by four different race elements—the Germans, the Scotch-Irish, the Quakers and people of English stock, including a few Yankees. The Quakers took up a belt of territory running through the Chester Valley, and among them grew up an anti-slavery and abolition strip; the Scotch-Irish took a parallel belt; and the German lay between the two; hence an antagonism which has not yet worn out, since the Quakers were anti-slavery. But their Irish and Dutch neighbors were inclined to be pro-slavery. In the riot at Christiana, a few miles from Lancaster, in 1851, when one Gorsuch was killed in the effort to recapture his runaway slaves, the whole eastern end of the State was in an uproar, and a Governor was defeated on the issue of siding with the pro-slavery faction. The Scotch-Irish as farmers have steadily lost ground to the Dutchmen, who stand ready to buy up farms as they become

vacant; and there is a good story of a lonely Scotch-Irishman, the only one left in a township, who finds all his neighbors voting against him on the question of changing a road, and when the vote is taken, says, "I don't mind the d---d Dutchman, but they come here and spoil our society." Simon Cameron was of the Scotch-Irish, or rather of the pure Scotch, blood, but married into the Pennsylvania Dutch. Of course, the reason for the fading away of the Scotch-Irish farmers is that they are gone to the cities to make iron, to make money, and to make material for the suits of the Attorney General of the United States. Undoubtedly, however, one of the reasons for the permanence of the Pennsylvania Dutch is the lack of harmony and neighborly feeling with their nearest neighbors. You know a Scotch-Irish farm when you see it, because it has not a red barn and is not so neatly kept up.

Vexed Theologically and Politically.

A stronger reason for the segregation of these people is their fondness for abstruse theological hairsplitting, such as might better benefit their Calvinistic neighbors. The German immigrants as early as 1708 began to include Baptists—of whom the strongest sects nowadays are the Dunkers, and ascetics like the communities at Ephrata, Lititz and Bethlehem.

The Ephrata community, which was practically a monastery and nunnery, founded by Conrad Beissel in 1728, is not yet quite extinct; and the Chronicon Ephratense, in Dr. Hark's genial translation, is one of the quaintest services of American church history. In his early life in Germany Beissel was almost prevented from entering

on his work by consumption, till a counsellor said to him, "My friend, you meditate too much on the world's dark side," and after he had given him some instructions as to his condition he prescribed the use of sheep's ribs, "by which means, through God's grace, he became well again." In Lancaster county, the Mennonites and the Amish (pronounced Awmish), are the most numerous and decidedly the most picturesque, since they still maintain a costume, special observances and a separate life. The old Mennonites and the new Mennonites appear to be visibly distinguished in that the white caps of the old Mennonite women are allowed to flow loosely, while among the new Mennonites, as a stricter and severer church, the cap strings are tied firmly under the chin. The woman wear blue or red tight-fitting dresses with a pointed cape of gray and commonly a sunbonnet over the cap; the Mennonite men are not very different from their neighbors. New Mennonites literally put their fingers in their ears if exposed to religious exhortation of any but their own people, even at a funeral. The Amish, however, are strongly marked, because the men give to their head a "Dutch cap" which makes them resemble the Holland youth whose portraits adorn the advertisements of cereals, yet their beards grow (hence they were formerly called "beardy men"), and fasten their gray home-made garments with hooks and eyes. Neither Mennonites nor Amish will take an oath, nor go to war; hence, when other Pennsylvania Dutchmen during the Revolution entered the Patriot army the Mennonites were considered.

'Tories.⁷ Accepting this conservative position in politics, they became Federalists, and their region approved the Federal Constitution of 1787; the other Germans, in their role of patriots, became Jeffersonian Democrats, and to this day Berks county, in which they abound, is an unalterable Democratic stronghold, in which for thirty years after his death they were still reputed to be voting at every election for Andrew Jackson for President; while the neighboring Lancaster county, in which Mennonites are abundant, is overwhelmingly Republican. The Amish, better than any of the other sects, stand by their ancient customs; women commonly do not sit at the table with the men, who take each his own portion from a common dish; and the women come afterward. The Amish almost invariably worship in private houses; there are only two church buildings of that sect in Lancaster county; their religious services last three or four hours, including sermons by lay preachers. Their weddings last all day, and if there be an unmarried brother or sister older than the bride the guests go through the ceremony of setting the person thus passed by

⁷It is true that the Mennonites refused to take up arms in the War of the Revolution, on principle, but it is incorrect to call them Tories. They were called "Non-Associators," but they paid their war taxes like the rest, and there is only one instance in which trouble arose during that war in Lancaster county. As a fact, the German element in Pennsylvania was as loyal to the Patriot cause as any other nationality. The muster rolls of the nine regiments raised in Lancaster county during the Revolution show a very large proportion of German names. When, on May 25, 1776, Congress ordered the enlistment of an exclusively German regiment in Pennsylvania and Maryland, Pennsylvania's quota was filled by July 17, and an extra company thrown in, by way of good measure, we suppose.

"on the bake oven." As you go through the country the Amish houses may be recognized by their extraordinary colors; a stone house stuccoed and painted orange; a wooden house raspberry color with blue blinds; or a fine shade of mauve. The Amish are fond of good horses and if your automobile passes a couple of Amish girls in their scant red dresses, black aprons and white caps, they will adjure you: "Don't let her run off now yet," but in the same breath will call you to notice that they are driving a borrowed horse; the implication being that they have better horses at home. The Amish stand by each other in times of difficulty and are a straightforward and honest folk, though a bit too much like the good people of Thrums when it comes to doctrine. There is a branch of the Amish popularly known as the "whipsocket Amish," founded by a brother who rebelled at the discipline of the regular Amish because he would have a whipsocket, instead of carrying his whip in his hand as was the custom. Nevertheless the Amish are quick to take up new agricultural and household implements, and are highly esteemed amid the fraternity of patent wash-boilers, hayforks and stump pullers.

English Names There Too.

Intermixed with the Dutch and the Irish and the Quakers in Lancaster county are most interesting memorials of another Church and influence. As the Boston politician, Ireland born, remarked when he noticed the names of the candidates for school committee: "How these Americans are pushing in!" Some of the oldest Episcopal Churches in the Middle States are to be found in Lancaster county, espe-

cially Leacock Church; Donegal Church, which lies close by the Cameron estate; and St. John's church-yard, in which is the renowned tomb-stone of "Adelaide with the broken lily," emblem of a life ruined by a worthless husband.⁸ The old King's Highway, the first road toward the Far West, can still be traversed from Philadelphia to Lancaster; and along it are strung many old taverns such as the Bird-in-Hand, with a large space in front where the wagons were drawn up at night. There is a hospitable house at Kinzer, near Lancaster, where on the piazza hang two of the fine old signboards, one of them "The Three Crowns" shot through with the bullets of Republican enthusiasts; and insufficiently painted over as "The Waterloo."

Really to enjoy this region one needs a host who shall be brimful of the lore of the country; and a company of eminent spirits who will give a day's holiday to motoring over the undeniably bad roads, among the rich farms and through the picturesque hills, stopping at Lititz for the children to be treated to ice cream sandwiches by a Pennsylvanian whom the children, unabashed by "excellencies," straightway "know by his picture" and so to the mansion of a former Pennsylvania Senator who loves the soil of Lancaster county best of all the surface of the earth. Socially, politically, financially, industrially, the Pennsylvania Dutch do not furnish their own leaders,⁹ yet,

⁸Our author gets his denominations mixed up in this paragraph. The Donegal and the Leacock churches are not Episcopal, but Presbyterian. The Scotch-Irish, who were a very prominent portion of the early settlers, were almost to a man Presbyterians.

⁹Nowhere in his very readable article does Prof. Hart stray more widely

whatever their religious and social narrowness, they have set to the whole nation an example of industry, thrift and respect for the rights of others.

Professor Hart is the professor of history in Harvard University. He is also the editor of *The American Nation*, a work of some thirty volumes, the last work on American History and the most authoritative and luminous exposition of our national characteristics, life and experience. He was a classmate of President Roosevelt

from the actual facts than here. It is true that for fifty years after the settlement of the province, the Germans were not prominent in the affairs of Pennsylvania. There were very good reasons for it. In the first place, the Government was in English hands. The language was English. The business of the Courts and the Provincial Assembly was all English. They were handicapped by their language. But another factor was equally potent in keeping them out of politics and office. They were aliens, without the rights of citizenship. They dwelt in the Province, but it was by sufferance, and they were therefore excluded from taking a part in public affairs. As early as 1721 they asked for naturalization, but it was denied them. In 1724 permission was given to bring such a bill before the General Assembly. But it required that they should declare under oath, before a magistrate, the extent of their wealth and the nature of their religion. Governor Keith rejected it because its requirements were unjust, contrary to the rights guaranteed Englishmen under the English constitution, and he would not sign it. In 1729 it came up again, and a naturalization bill was passed on October 14, which received the assent of Governor Gordon in 1729-30. At once 105 were naturalized, and among them were eight of the signers to the petition for the erection of Lancaster county. To say that the Germans have not been leaders, we refer to the list of our Governors since the formation of our State government. Governors Snyder, Hiester, Shulze, Wolf, Ritner, Bigler, Shunk, Hartranft, Beaver, Stone and Pennypacker show that the Germans have given the Commonwealth twelve Governors since 1789. If space allowed an equal record could be shown for them socially, in finance and as captains of industry.

and of Rev. Frederic Gardiner, Master of Yeates School. He made an address when the new home of the last-named institution, "The Elms," was dedicated, and on that visit he obtained some insight into Lancaster county and its composite citizenship.

Subsequently he visited W. U. Hensel, at "Bleak House;" with him, Justice J. Hay Brown, Governor Stuart, Attorney General Todd, Judge Landis and others, he made an automobile trip of the county—taking in the Leacocks and Earls, Akron, Rothsville, Lititz, Manheim, Mt. Joy and Marietta, and winding up at the "Farmers' Club" dinner, of ex-Senator J. Don. Cameron, at Donegal Farms.

He was much impressed with Lancaster county and its people, and has contributed his impressions to the Boston Transcript, the foremost newspaper of New England. They are republished as they were originally printed; and, though in some minor details they might be open to revision or criticism, they are eminently worthy of permanent local record as the observations of a learned critical visitor, and as another intimation to our citizens of the ungleaned rich fields of local history which lie all about us.

On another day he went into "the valley," between Christiana and Quarryville, accompanied by the President and Secretary of the Lancaster County Historical Society, visited the old "Riot House," and the line of the famous "Underground Railroad" of slavery days, and heard the thrilling local stories of that eventful period.

The following persons were then elected to membership: Dr. John F. Menter, Ephrata; Harry M. Cope, and L. G. Arnold, Lancaster.

The applications of Miss Mary Dougherty, of Lancaster; Webster L. Hershey, of Landisville, and L. B. [illegible]
Minutes of the February Meeting

Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 7, 1908.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting this evening in the parlor of the A. Herr Smith Library Building, President Steinman in the chair.

After the call to order, Secretary Hostetter called the roll of officers and noted the absentees. As a copy of the minutes of the last meeting had been placed in the hands of all the members present, a motion to dispense with their reading by the Secretary was carried.

The Librarian read a list of the donations received during the month, which was as follows: From Miss Mary A. Russell, "Junius' Letters," "Travels in the Canadas," "Young's Night Thoughts," "Roubinia," an old-time novel, and a copy of Aesop's Fables, in Latin and English; thirteen volumes of a statistical character from the Pennsylvania State Library; Proceedings of the Jewish Historical Society for 1907; Pennsylvania-German Magazine; Catholic Historical Researches, Grand Rapids Public Library Bulletin, New York Public Library Bulletin and Enoch Pratt Public Library Bulletin for January, 1908; two newspapers from Rev. Dr. S. F. Hotchkin, containing historical sketches by himself.

The usual vote of thanks of the Society was extended to all the donors.

The following persons were then elected to membership: Dr. John F. Mentzer, Ephrata; Harry E. Carson and I. C. Arnold, Lancaster.

The applications of Miss Mary Dougherty, of Lancaster; Webster L. Hershey, of Landisville, and L. E. Bair and John L. Summy, of Lancaster, were received, and, under the rules, lie over until the March meeting.

The reading of papers being in order, S. M. Sener, Esq., read one prepared by Judge Charles I. Landis, the subject being "An Old Newspaper," the said newspaper being one called "The Hive," published in Lancaster city. This publication was begun in 1802 and discontinued in 1804. Copious extracts were made from its columns, bearing on all manner of subjects, showing the character of local journalism at that early day. Local news hardly received any attention, although marriages and deaths of prominent persons were generally given. The only full file of this newspaper known belongs to Messrs. Ferd. A. and Henry C. Demuth, but several other partial sets were enumerated as being owned by residents of this city. The reading of the paper called out considerable discussion relative to the men, buildings and other items mentioned in the paper. A vote of thanks was extended to Judge Landis, and it was ordered to be published in the Society's proceedings.

The query having been propounded as to the name of "Fiddler's Green," as applied in olden times to what is now the town of Neffsville, the statement was made that one Jacob Fiddler built the first house erected there, and the place took its name from him. The bricks of which the house was built were said to have been brought from Europe. Several other houses were named as still standing in this city that were also constructed of imported bricks. These

PAPERS READ

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bricks were brought over in ships as ballast, and the freight was, consequently, low.

The attendance, as usual, was good, showing that public interest in the Society and its work is on the increase.

A meeting of the Executive Committee having been called by the Chairman immediately after adjournment, a considerable amount of business was transacted. It was decided to relieve the Secretary of some of the onerous work that now devolves upon him by the appointment of a sub-committee of three, to whom all papers intended to be read before the Society shall be submitted for examination and approved prior to their presentation to the Society. The committee named by the Chairman for this purpose was H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., S. M. Sener, Esq., and D. B. Landis.

A LANCASTRIAN IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

MINUTES OF THE MARCH MEETING.

VOL XII. NO. 3.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1868.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MARCH 6, 1908.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

A Lancastrian in the Mexican War - - - - - 109
By MARY NAUMAN ROBINSON

Minutes of the March Meeting - - - - - 100

A LANCASTRIAN IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

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VOL. XII. NO. 3.

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1908.

A LANCASTRIAN IN THE MEXICAN WAR

I have in my possession a number of letters written during the Mexican War by an officer who served through that conflict, a Lancastrian by birth and family, Colonel George Nauman. From these letters I have made such selections as seemed to be of interest to the Society, and they were recently be of some historical value as being written on the spot by a man and a soldier who took part in the war.

Camp near Fort Brown, Texas, May 26, 1846.—On account of the poverty

A Lancastrian in the Mexican War - - - - - 109
By MARY NAUMAN ROBINSON

Minutes of the March Meeting - - - - - 130

General Wm. H. French's force crossed the river, composed of about 300 wagons, to Gen. Taylor's camp, where we arrived safely on the 16th. I am still in command of this force, but am momentarily expecting to be ordered into the fort to form part of its garrison or I may be sent over to one of the forts in Matamoros, which town was taken by our troops merely marching into it, the Mexican army having abandoned it. On the morning our army crossed the river, which was on the 16th. They appear intimidated. The dragoons and Texas Rangers are in hot pursuit of those in the direction of Monterey. One of our officers, Lieutenant Stevens, was drowned in crossing the river. Our loss in officers has been excessive so far, in coming up, I selected the battle-ground and a stronger position than that chosen by the enemy. It

would be difficult to find, but is there,
with what a fatal result! On a part of
A LANCASTRIAN IN THE
MEXICAN WAR

I have in my possession a number of letters written during the Mexican War by an officer who served through that conflict, a Lancastrian by birth and family, Colonel George Nauman. From these letters I have made such selections as seemed to be of interest to the Society, and they may possibly be of some historical value, as being written on the spot by a man and a soldier who took part in the war:

Camp near Fort Brown, Texas, May 20, 1846.—On account of Col. Pierce's ill health the command of the battalion and Mobile volunteers devolved on me. On the 14th I was placed in command of 132 men, in addition to our two companies, and with this force escorted the train, composed of about 200 wagons, to Gen. Taylor's camp, where we arrived safely on the 16th. I am still in command of this force, but am momentarily expecting to be ordered into the fort to form part of its garrison, or I may be sent over to one of the forts in Matamoras, which town was taken by our troops merely marching into it, the Mexican army having abandoned it on the morning our army crossed the river, which was on the 16th. They appear intimidated. The dragoons and Texan Rangers are in hot pursuit of them in the direction of Monterey. One of our officers, Lieutenant Stevens, was drowned in crossing the river. Our loss in officers has been excessive so far. In coming up, I examined the battle-ground and a stronger position than that chosen by the enemy it

would be difficult to find, but, to them, with what a fatal result! On a part of the field their dead still lie unburied, just as they fell, and, God knows, the spectacle is horrid enough! They have been invited to come and bury their slain, and yet have left most of that for us to do. Heavens! what a vile thing war is!

June 4, 1846.—The Army of Occupation is at present in a state of quiescence. Most of it is concentrated at Fort Brown, Texas, and at Matamoras. Reinforcements continue to arrive almost daily, and we already have enough troops in the field to undertake a march on the City of Mexico. Nor do I believe we should meet with any serious opposition, as report says the whole country is in consternation at our success and preparations. But it would be no easy affair. The distance is 900 miles; much of the country little better than a desert, but little water, and without resources for the support of an army. Yet it is, despite all difficulties, the intention of General Taylor to make a demonstration on that capital, if he can procure the sanction of our government. It should be done before the enthusiasm of our volunteers subsides. The Mexican army is composed of mongrel troops, scarcely one of them, the officers excepted, being a purely white man. If rumor is to be believed, the Republic of Mexico is in a deplorable condition. Four factions divide it; one desiring the maintenance of the republic; a second, a monarchy under a European Prince; a third desires to cover the shoulders of Santa Anna with the royal purple; and the fourth desires annexation to the United States, hoping thereby to find repose and local liberty. I have visited Matamoras several times, to

inspect the place and study the inhabitants. Most of the houses are made of reed, and thatched with the same material, having nothing but the earth for a floor. The streets are quite broad, and cross each other at right angles, but they are abominably filthy. The people are a mixed race, of all sorts of colors, Spaniards and their descendants, French, Germans, Americans, Africans, Indians, etc. Education is at the very lowest ebb, morals there is none, religion is a mere superstition. Thank God, I am not a Mexican!

July 3, 1846.—We are still quietly encamped on the banks of the Rio del Norte, and are daily being re-inforced by volunteers. A visit to the "halls of the Montezumas" may not be so chimerical after all, but before the Mexican Republic is reduced to reason we shall have to beat her in one more battle, which, if it takes place at all, will be somewhere near Monterey.

July 23, 1846.—Almost all the regular force is on its way to Camargo, preparatory to the great expedition to Monterey. Gen. Taylor is much irritated at the delay in obtaining transportation, the odium of which he exclusively throws on the Quartermaster's Department. I fear I shall not participate in the battle at Monterey, as I learn that I am to be left with my own company, and perhaps several other companies, at Matamoras, to guard and protect that city, probably to be placed in command of Fort Paredes. I do not consider myself fortunate in this disposition.

September 29, 1846.—We are relieved from all apprehension about Gen. Taylor and his corps. Our army reached Monterey on the 19th inst. The 20th was passed in making reconnaissances and preparing for battle.

On the 21st Gen. Worth was sent with the Second Brigade to take possession of some heights in rear of Monterey which commanded the place; and Gen. Twiggs, with the First Brigade, on one side, to create a diversion in his favor. The enemy attacked the Second Brigade, and a general engagement ensued. Our troops soon stormed some of the batteries and got possession of the suburbs and some of the streets. The fight was now continued in the town itself from house to house, and street to street, until the 24th, when Gen. Ampudia, who commanded the Mexicans, proposed to capitulate on certain terms. Finally, an armistice was agreed upon. We captured some twenty-five or thirty pieces of ordnance. Our loss has been serious enough, killed and wounded, about 500; the Mexicans about the same. The loss of life would have been much greater had it not rained all the time the two armies were engaged. On the morning of the 25th our army marched into Monterey and took possession of all the fortified positions.

October 7, 1846.—On the 3d I fired a National salute. One was also fired at Fort Brown, on the other side of the river. I commenced at 1 o'clock, and was immediately followed by Fort Brown. These salutes were fired in honor of our glorious victory, but chiefly to convince the Mexicans of the vicinity that we had actually taken Monterey, which they affected to disbelieve. Division order, dated Camargo, September 29, states "that all bodies of armed Mexicans who shall be found in the neighborhood of the Rio Grande or on the route to Monterey will be viewed as acting without authority from their government and treated as outlaws." This

order was issued on account of certain murders perpetrated by Mexicans near Camargo. The people were slow to believe the fall of Monterey. That prince of bragadocios, Don Pedro de Ampudia, the Mexican commander, bellowed so loudly and frequently in his numerous bulletins, "that General Taylor's forces would find their graves at Monterey, and never again drink the waters of the Rio Grande," that he completely succeeded in convincing his countrymen that such would be the fact. Some criticism is made of General Taylor's method of conducting the attack on Monterey, but he has much prudence and determined courage, and he has been successful. On account of sickness, General Twiggs was not in the engagement.

A tent is not the most desirable residence, but I have had no other since I have been in this land. The climate, notwithstanding the excessive heat during much of the day, is exceedingly fine. The nights, particularly when we have a moon, are inexpressibly beautiful. I spend the day in reading, writing and sleeping, and the early part of the night at the Plaza de Armas, where the other officers of the line have their quarters. There we discuss matters and things in general relating to the war. Sometimes my rest is disturbed by an alarm, when I usually feel so indignant, for every one of them is unnecessary, that I feel as if I should like to destroy the whole town of Matamoras, which lies immediately under my guns. At this season we have no rain, nor have I had a single day's illness with ague. But many of the company are down.

November 2, 1846.—I learn from Colonel Belknap, one of the Inspector Generals, that with my company

perhaps as early as the day after to-morrow I am to join the main army. I am told I am to be placed in charge of a siege train or some other battery of heavy guns. This is exactly what I have all along desired, and I trust I shall not be disappointed.

Some time ago the Mexicans captured an important mail on the road between Monterey and Camargo. General Taylor sent to Ampudia in relation to it, stating that he might keep the public despatches, but requesting him to return the private letters. Ampudia replied that it had been sent to Santa Anna, but that the private letters would be returned. This occurred during the armistice, so you see how little this was regarded by the enemy. From this capture Santa Anna learned the intentions of our government, and has, in consequence, sent 8,000 troops to Tampico, for the defense of that place. If ever an army deserved to be beaten for rashness and carelessness ours unquestionably does. My health continues good, but there is much sickness among the troops.

Camargo, November 13, 1846.—I left Fort Paredes on the 3d, and reached this place on the 9th. We came by steamboat. I am here in command of a battalion of two companies, and I understand from Gen. Patterson that my command is to form part of the expedition destined to operate against Tampico from the Gulf.

Since I have been here I have seen a Mexican funeral. It was, according to my notions, exceedingly shocking. The corpse was carried by two men on a kind of bed. Around the head was a wreath of flowers, and a band of them was stretched longitudinally across it. To the garments, which were those in ordinary wear, were attached all kinds of flowers, natural or

artificial. The body, thus tricked out, was taken to the church, where the priest said the office for the dead over it with the most irreverent haste. It was then hurriedly borne to the cemetery, thrown coffinless into a shallow grave, the earth quickly shovelled in and trodden down by the grave-diggers. "Oh, come away," said an officer who was witnessing the ceremony with me, "these people are heathens."

As a rule, soldiers are supposed to be subject only to the usual dangers of war—"the madness of mankind." Under date of December 4 an account is given of the voyage from the mouth of the Rio Grande to Tampico. The sea was very rough, with a southeast gale blowing. The vessel was perilously insecure, and the troops in great discomfort. However, on the third day they reached Tampico in safety, about two hours before sunset. We were immediately boarded by hosts of the naval officers in the station, who congratulated us on our safe arrival, and expressed extreme wonder at our being sent around in so insecure a vessel. Commodores Conner and Perry said they looked upon me as a hero, and assured me that in my place they would not have gone to sea in so miserable a craft as the steamer Undine. Captain Sterrett said there were many brave officers in the navy, but that after such a trip as ours he was willing to concede that the officers of the army were still braver. We are encamped just outside the town. Lieuts. Brannan and Haskin are with me.

Tampico is a beautiful town. The streets are well paved, the houses well built and comfortable, the markets excellent and prices very moderate. As to the people, their sentiments are all unfavorable towards

us. They universally call us "diablos." The other evening, while two or three of us were passing through one of the streets, we overheard a very respectable-looking matron say to her daughters, "Let us go in, the devils are coming." The people say that God has abandoned the town on account of the arrival of so many heretics.

It is probable that General Taylor is moving in this direction. It is manifestly our interest to take Vera Cruz. It also appears certain that Gen. Scott is coming out to take command, and we expect to see him here in a short time. He has many friends and admirers among us. Our force here is about 1,000 men, and we shall soon have an abundance of troops, as Gen. Patterson's division is rapidly organizing to move in this direction. It is supposed that this point will be the base of operations. Taylor has been joined by Gen. Worth. Worth, with his brigade, has taken possession of Saltillo, and many believe that Gen. Taylor will at once push on to attack San Luis de Potosi, which is said to be very strongly fortified, and where it is reported the Mexicans have collected an army of 30,000 men under Santa Anna, who has (January 23, 1847,) been elected to the Presidency of the Mexican Republic, by a majority of only two, and that over a man who is quite unknown to the public. We shall soon have nearly all the regular forces in Mexico concentrated here, and, with the many bands, we have plenty of music. We expect Gen. Scott hourly, as we hear he is at Brazos. He doubtless has some good reason for the delay.

Tampico, Feb. 21, 1847.—Day before yesterday Gen. Scott came among us, and made quite a sensation in this command. He looks very well, but

begins to show the marks of old age. His enormous size greatly amazed the Mexicans, and no wonder, seeing that it would take half a dozen of them to make, in bulk, such a man as he is. He seemed to be in the most exuberant spirits, and had something kind and complimentary to say to everybody. He told me that I "had been his intimate acquaintance a few years ago." Seeing me, immediately after having made this remark, talking to Maj. Turnbull, he came up and asked me what I had been saying. I told him that "I had just been observing that it must be a very troublesome thing to be a great man, from the incessant vexatious demands made on his time and patience." "I suppose," said he, "by calling me a great man you mean that I am six feet four inches tall." "Why, no, sir, not exactly," said I, and we mutually bowed to each other in our very best style. He immediately withdrew, with a very self-satisfied smile on his face. He possesses much ability.

Near Vera Cruz, March 20, 1847.—A more magnificent sight than the landing of our troops it would be hard to conceive. We arrived on the 9th. I am in Gen. Twigg's division. On the morning of the 11th, while moving over one of the sand hills on our route a twenty-four pound ball struck one of our musicians and took off his arm. The ball struck the earth about a yard from me, and covered me with sand, near enough to make me feel very uncomfortable. I was conversing with Gen. Patterson at the time. He was on horseback, and behaved with great coolness. During the 11th and 12th the enemy kept up an incessant fire of large shot and shell at us. There was also considerable skirmishing. By the 13th we had

the town completely encircled on the land side, and on the 14th sent out skirmishers, driving every one within the walls—Vera Cruz being a walled town. They cannot hold out long. They are short of provisions and fuel, and as we have stopped the supply of water by their aqueduct they have only their cisterns to depend upon. We number about 12,000 fighting men. In our division we are very uncomfortable. This is the 20th, and since the 9th, when we left the ships, we have had no change of clothing, no cooking utensils, no tents. In the moving we have had to carry our blankets, provisions, etc., on our backs. What a figure we would cut on Broadway! I am sure we would not be designated "bandbox soldiers!" Bivouacing will do well enough for a few days, but when it runs into weeks, and that, too, minus a scrap of soap or a razor, it becomes singularly unpleasant. Vera Cruz, with its domes and towers, has quite an imposing appearance, and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, about one-half mile from the city, with its bristling cannon, presents a very formidable appearance. The town stands on a low point of land, which runs into the sea. The "paysanos" are a miserable looking race, some of them living in cabins constructed of cornstalks. The hovel in which I am now writing is the residence of a priest, and certainly not more than three miles distant from one of the most refined cities in Mexico.

March 30, 1847.—On the 22d Gen. Scott sent in his summons for the surrender of Vera Cruz, which was, of course, rejected by Gen. Morales, in terms of much dignity, to the effect that, as he "was charged with the defense of the place, he should do so to

the utmost of his ability." We immediately opened fire from a battery of seven mortars. Firing continued on the 23d, 24th and 25th, both from the land and naval forces. On the 25th, about dark, I arrived in the trenches to take charge of Battery No. 4, consisting of four 24-pounders, and two 8-inch Howitzers. At 1 a. m. we commenced throwing shells. After some firing, a "norther" began blowing with great severity, and the firing was discontinued. Very early in the morning the Governor of the town sent word that he was willing to surrender, and Gens. Worth and Pillow and Col. Totten were appointed a commission to determine the terms of capitulation. The 26th, 27th and 28th were passed in negotiations, and on the morning of the 29th the city and castle passed into our possession. Being in command in the trenches, which ended in the plain before Vera Cruz, I had the finest opportunity possible for witnessing the surrender of the garrison of 5,000 men. Then, with colors flying and music playing, the First Brigade marched into the town. As our flag was displayed it was hailed with salutes, and finally the battery of which I had charge closed the proceedings by firing a national salute. I am told the city was much injured by our shot and shell, and that the chief destruction of life was among the citizens, and they chiefly women and children. It is a horrid thing to fire upon a town.

April 3, 1847.—I am sitting, as I write, on a military commission for the trial of a man for murder. He belongs to the First Artillery, and in a quarrel about liquor shot one of his companions. It is a most unpleasant business. The commission sits in town, and assembles at 9 a. m. Our

camp is three miles off, so I must walk six miles every day in a boiling sun.

I have been all over Vera Cruz. At least one-third of the city has been utterly ruined by our shells. All the streets were defended and barricaded with traverses made of sand bags, and the ground round the walls full of conical holes with sharp spikes in them, in military parlance, trous-de-loups.

This was in anticipation of an assault. The city has many fine buildings, and in it is the finest church I have ever seen. In it is a gigantic image of our Lord, as a negro, even to the woolly hair, and the candles burning around him are black. He is especially worshipped by the colored people. The castle of San Juan is strong and full of munitions of war, but provisions are very scarce everywhere. But, beautifully constructed as are both castle and city, they offend the nostrils at every turn. For the Mexicans, except in their persons and garments, are the filthiest people under the sun. Were Vera Cruz kept clean I am sure it would not suffer, as it does, from malignant fevers.

Plaza del Rio, April 16, 1847.—We marched from camp on the 8th, our division, the Second of Regulars, commanded by Gen. Twiggs, taking the lead. It was hot and dusty, and the troops suffered horribly, being marched too rapidly from the ignorance of the General as to what exertion men can make in a climate like this. Matters improved as we went on, and we arrived here on the afternoon of the 11th. On the 14th we again struck our tents at an early hour, but had only proceeded a few miles when we found ourselves in the presence of the enemy. His position being very strong, in the celebrated pass of the Sierra

Gorda, and our division being weak, it was found expedient to fall back. On the 15th Gen. Patterson with two brigades arrived, and, as he was too sick for duty, he transferred the command to Gen. Twiggs, who, without sufficient knowledge of the Mexicans' position of numbers, ordered that they should be attacked at midnight, by the Regulars on the right, the Volunteers on the left. But the moment this insane project, as Gen. Patterson conceived it, came to his knowledge he resumed command and suspended operations. On the 14th Gen. Scott and his staff reached this place, and since then active measures have been taken to discover everything possible as to the number and position of our enemy. It is said that Santa Anna is in command of 12,000 men, with a field train of 24 six or eight-pounders, and nine or twelve heavy pieces in position. Our force is by no means so formidable, but we have no fears as to the result of the impending battle, which possibly may occur to-morrow. I see Capt. Hardee very frequently. Like the rest of us, he is very anxious to return to his family. As we are on the eve of a battle, there is much bustle, but we have no fear.

Jalapa, May 29, 1847.—This letter is written on official paper, captured at Cerro Gordo in Santa Anna's carriage. This is quite a stylish affair, but of colossal dimensions. When General Scott left this place he presented me with all of Santa Anna's correspondence that had fallen into his hands, and among it was a quantity of fine letter paper. This is of English manufacture. Had we half the influence possessed by England in this country our difficulties with it would soon be over. Even now, overrun with robbers, as the whole coun-

try is, an English courier can travel anywhere with perfect safety; while ours, without immense risk, cannot pass over the best protected roads. Only a few days since Colonel Laurens, carrying despatches to General Scott, was killed on the other side of Plan del Rio. Murder on the road between this place and Vera Cruz is not uncommon, as it is infested by an organized body of 200 or 300 bandits. Colonel Laurens' companions, three or four in number, escaped. Somehow or other it happens that none of our generals can keep either his contemplated operations or the intentions of the Government from the knowledge of the enemy. The lost despatches, which are long ere this in Santa Anna's hands, were of much importance. Not, as I believe, that this matters much, for he is almost utterly helpless, and, though he has contrived to rally a small army around him, he can neither feed nor pay it. The Mexicans, too, are essentially cowards, and this is more true of the officers than of the men. The rank and file of the Mexican Army do not hesitate to speak of Ampudia and of other officers as cowards, and as being the first to run away in battle. Our troops, on the contrary, consider it their greatest boast if they can outstrip their officers in the race for glory. They are often heard to speak with the highest admiration of their gallantry and heroism, both individually and collectively.

The training at West Point has been of the utmost value in every department of the army, but it has excited much jealousy among the volunteers. I fear an effort may be made to abolish the Military Academy after the war. General Scott has always been its warm friend, and has upheld it with

all his influence. The day that he left us, as I was lamenting to him my sad fate at being left behind, he said to me: "But only think of me! I left Washington with a halter around my neck. I trusted to you and the other graduates to extricate me from my difficulties, and gloriously have you done it; nor shall the service ever be forgotten!" And yet here I am left in Jalapa, and I ardently desired to go with the main army to Mexico, which I now fear I shall not see.

San Angel, Sept. 6. 1847.—On July 27 our brigade marched from Puebla to relieve Gen. Pierce's command, of 2,500 men, as it was reported that he was surrounded by the Mexican troops. We marched some twenty miles to Ojo de Agua, where we remained till August 2, when we learned that our assistance was not needed. On the 4th we were again in Puebla, and on the 7th the army marched thence for Mexico, reaching Cordova on the 10th. That day Capt. Kearney, of the Dragoons, lost three of his men and seven horses, being captured by the Mexicans. The men were holding the horses of their companions, who were foraging for cattle. On the 11th we reached Agolla, and, hearing that the enemy was strongly posted at El Penol, a reconnaissance was made on the 12th and 13th. On the latter day Lieut. Hamilton, with a few dragoons, was attacked by a party of Mexican Lancers, and badly wounded, but, as usual, our troops, tho' very inferior in number, had the best of it. On the 19th we marched to the vicinity of San Jeronimo, where we came into the presence of the enemy, very favorably posted, having about 5,000 men and heaven knows how many artillery and cavalry. Even before we came within cannon range we were

fired upon with much vigor, but, our guns being of small calibre, we could do little mischief. Our losses were comparatively small. As we had moved up directly in front of the hostile batteries in the afternoon it was discovered that we were in a wrong position, so we moved to the right and left of the enemy. With immense difficulty we crossed a ravine, through which a considerable stream flows, and found a large body of our troops already assembled, but both before and behind us we had a large body of Mexicans, who, if they had had the courage to attack us, would have annihilated us. During part of the night we bivouacked in an orchard, surrounded by a high wall, a position we should never have abandoned, as it commanded the road to Mexico, and by that road most of the Mexican army retreated, under cover of a pouring rain. We marched at 2 a. m. on the 20th to join the force ordered to charge. We had to cross ravines and water-courses, pass over the most clayey soil I ever saw, in consistency like soft soap, and I cannot tell how often I fell, for the night was pitch dark. Through some mistake we were advanced too much to the right, so that we did not participate as largely in the fight as some of the other regiments, but we had an excellent opportunity to witness the whole of it, and a glorious sight it was. The forces were about equal in number, without counting the enemy's horse and artillery, and, wonderful to relate, in about seventeen minutes we put him to the most disgraceful flight, killing great numbers and capturing more prisoners than it was easy to know what to do with. Our loss was but small. We captured 22 guns, some of large calibre. The place where the

battle was fought is called Contreras, by which name, I suppose, it will be known in history.

As soon as the hurry of the battle and the cheerings of victory were over our march was continued towards San Pablo, or Churubusco, where it was known that a large force of Mexicans was prepared to receive us. As soon as our reconnoitering officers approached the place the most infernal fire was opened upon them, and the Rifles were sent to support them. The violent firing continuing, the First Artillery was sent to support them, and to aid in taking the place. We were, however, by, I fear, the ignorance of our engineers, sent immediately in front of the battery, and lost two of our most valuable officers, Capts. Capron and Burke, with Lieut Hoffman. Finally, additional forces were sent to our aid, and the place was carried, but with heavy loss to us. We captured 1,200 prisoners, 27 guns and a large amount of ammunition. Had I not been ashamed, I could have wept like a child when I saw the dead bodies of the officers mentioned. Capt. Capron was shot through the lungs, and his last request was "that he might receive a decent funeral," which to the utmost of our abilities was granted him and his unfortunate companions. Our regiment has suffered severely. In consequence of the battles of Centreras and Churubusco came the Armistice of August 22, and negotiations for peace.

City of Mexico, September 22, 1847.
—On the 7th of September the truce was broken, and hostilities resumed, as was expected. The enemy had been violating it notoriously from the very beginning, and Santa Anna had refused to sign the treaty agreed upon by the commissioners. On the 8th

was fought the bloody battle of Molino del Rey. This conflict was brought on by Gen. Worth's division being sent to destroy a foundry near Chapultepec, but by some mistake it went to the former place, where the enemy was in large force. A very fierce action ensued, in which, as a matter of course, we were successful. We captured vast quantities of ammunition and a battery of six guns. Our loss, however, was very severe, having over 700 killed and wounded. We lost an unusual number of officers. In this engagement Capt. Kirby Smith* was badly wounded in the head, and is since dead. On the 11th we marched to San Cosme, near the enemy's lines, and on the 12th were under arms all day, as our batteries of heavy guns had opened on Chapultepec.

On the 13th, early in the morning, we marched to Chapultepec and participated in the glorious action which terminated in the fall of that celebrated fortress. After the battle we pursued the foe on the Tacubaya road, with six regiments, and did not halt until we had reached the Garita de Bilen, about three hundred yards from the citadel, a most formidable fortification, containing every imaginable instrument used for destruction in war. It is almost in the city. Its fire was so destructive that we were compelled to halt and erect batteries, which we did during the night, and which, fortunately, we did not use, as very early in the morning some citi-

*Captain Ephraim Kirby Smith was appointed from Florida. He was the son of Judge Smith. His mother was a Miss Kirby. He was the father of Mrs. Emma Jerome Blackwood, so well known in Lancaster, whose mother in later years married Gen. Eaton. A younger brother, Edmund Kirby, served in the Confederate forces, attaining the rank of General. He later on hyphenated his name, and called himself Kirby-Smith.

zens came out with a white flag, to inform us that the Mexican troops had abandoned the city.

From Chapultepec to the Garita we had three batteries to storm, and our loss in consequence was very severe. At the last battery, among others, we lost two of the most gallant spirits I ever knew, Captain Drum and Lieutenant Benjamin, both of the Fourth Artillery. During the day Lieutenant Brannan was wounded severely, but not dangerously. Major Dimick was wounded slightly in the side by a musket ball, and a similar missile took away a very small portion of my left ear, close enough, God knows, and I feel very grateful it was no worse. I have been very lucky, so far, when the imminent perils to which I have been exposed are considered.

Early in the morning of the 14th we marched into the City of Mexico, and at night I slept in the National Palace, or, as you in the United States say, the "halls of the Montezumas." Up to the 16th the common people fired upon us a good deal from the tops of houses and the corners of streets, and this they did not cease until we had killed many of them. Many of our men have been assassinated, and no one, unless intoxicated or insane, would think of going through the streets of the city at night, if he belongs to our army. Those who harass us in this way are called "leperos," or "blanket men." They are a vile set, and are much dreaded by the better classes. They seem to be nothing but robbers and assassins, and are said to number at least 30,000.

On the morning of the 13th the Acordada, a large prison, was thrown open, and upwards of 2,000 criminals of all kinds were let loose on the community to annoy us. How horrid and

short-sighted! It is not to us that essential injury will be done by these wretches, but to the Mexicans themselves. Did ever a sane government do such a thing?

The foreigners in the city have received us with great kindness and attention. They seem to have been much persecuted, and hence sympathize with our successes and are grateful for our protection.

In our late battles we captured many of the deserters from our ranks. They have suffered death, as they richly deserved, as they fought most desperately against us. On the 10th sixteen of them were hanged at San Angel, and thirty on the 13th at Tacubaya, under the superintendence of Col. Harney. He took them out to the place of execution and said to them, "As soon as our troops plant our flag on Chapultepec you will be launched into eternity." When it was run up he said: "Now take your last look at your country's flag," and they were swung off.

In the fight from Chapultepec to the City of Mexico only one man in my company was killed and three slightly wounded. Lieutenant Haskin, one of the storming party, had his arm dreadfully shattered by a musket ball. Immediate amputation was performed, the arm being taken off at the socket. He is doing well, and manifests a cheerful and contented spirit that is remarkable.

For the present we are stationed on the citadel, a very dirty place, with miserable accommodations, and abounding in fleas. As yet there is but little prospect of peace, for the Mexican Congress at Queretaro cannot muster a quorum, although it has been in session since the 5th of October. The government has no money and

scarcely any troops, but there is no talk of peace. In short our Congress will have to settle the affairs of this distracted country.

It seems odd enough that about 8,000 of us should be able to control this city of 150,000 people, who earnestly desire our extermination. We have succeeded in nearly curing the wretches of the crime of assassination by the use of a little rigor, as the culprits find that if they fall into our hands there is no escape. Murder, and, indeed, nearly all other crimes, are so common in this country as to make it utterly loathsome and detestable.

From the City of Mexico the writer of these letters was sent to Vera Cruz, where he remained until the close of the war, in command of the castle of San Juan de Ulloa.

Apropos of the Mexican War, the following verses from a song that was popular during that period are recalled:

"Here's a health to General Taylor,
whose "rough and ready" blow
Struck terror to the rancheros of braggart Mexico;
May his country ne'er forget his deeds
and ne'er forget to show,
She hold's him worthy of a place at
Benny Haven's, oh!

* * * * *

"To the "veni, vidi, vici man, to Scott,
the great hero,
Fill up the goblet to the brim, let no
one shrinking go;
May life's cares on his honored head
fall light as flakes of snow,
And his fair fame be ever great at
Benny Haven's, oh!"

(framed); \$50 bill of Lancaster Bank
(framed); nine bundles of letters re-
ferring to banquet held by the Society
of Old Columbians; besides a num-

Minutes of the March Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., March 6, 1908.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting this evening in the Society's room, in the A. Herr Smith Library building, there being a good attendance of members, despite the inclement weather.

President Steinman presided, and a majority of the officers were in attendance.

The following persons were elected to membership: Miss Mary Dougherty, L. E. Bair and John L. Summy, of Lancaster, and Webster L. Hershey, of Landisville.

Librarian Sener announced the following donations received by the Society since the last meeting:

Mitchell's Compendium of Canals and Railroads, 1835; Thanksgiving sermon by Rev. J. Chambers, Philadelphia, 1859; eleven Catholic pamphlets; History of the Columbia Fire Engine Company; Public Ledger Almanacs, 1870-5; The Centaur not Fabulous, 1806; Catholic Records, Volumes 4, 2, 3, 7, 8 and 9, volumes 7 and 8 not being complete; large scrap book, containing newspaper clippings, portraits, maps and autographs, referable to Columbia; tin box, containing the original minute book, bills, receipts, etc., of the Sanitary Committee of Columbia during the cholera epidemic of 1854; several letters of Simon Cameron; letter of Thaddeus Stevens (framed); \$50 bill of Lancaster Bank (framed); nine bundles of letters referring to banquets held by the Society of Old Columbians; besides a num-

ber of bills, receipts, photographs, old newspapers, etc., all donated by Mr. F. X. Reuss, of Philadelphia, formerly of Columbia, who, outside of Samuel Evans, Esq., has done more for the preservation of Columbia history than any other man; a piece of music, entitled, "Nobody's Song," dedicated to the Lancaster County Teachers' Institute in 1870, donated by John Baer Stoudt; History of the One Hundred and Twenty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment, from the Pennsylvania State Library; six numbers of the publications of the Deutschen Pioneer Verein, of Philadelphia, from Mr. Carl F. Huck, the secretary; number of book sale catalogues and several exchanges for February and March; also, Carpenter Family Genealogy (purchased).

The donations of Mr. Francis X. Reuss, of Philadelphia, are particularly valuable, especially the old scrap book containing newspaper clippings of early occurrences in Columbia. The thanks of the Society were extended to the donors.

Mr. Charles T. Steigerwalt exhibited to the members an old Lancaster weekly publication, the existence of which was heretofore unknown. It is called "The Hive" and was the successor of "The Hive" published here from 1803 to 1805, an interesting account of which, prepared by Judge Charles I. Landis, was read before the last meeting of the Society. The publication is octavo in size and it was issued by William Hamilton, as editor, he using the nom de plume of "William Honeycomb." It was at first printed by William Greer, but Mr. Hamilton later became both editor and printer. Like the early newspaper efforts, it had but a brief existence. The first issue appeared May 19, 1810, and it sur-

vived until September 10 of the same year. Mr. Steigerwalt secured the paper at a recent sale held in Baltimore.

Mr. William Riddle called the attention of the Society to a paper read before the Teachers' Science club at a meeting held at Marietta by Simon Cameron, on the early history of Marietta. As the paper was of great historical value Mr. Riddle suggested that Mr. Cameron be invited to read it before the Society. The matter was referred to the Executive Committee.

The paper of the evening was by Mrs. Mary N. Robinson, who took as her subject, "A Lancastrian in the Mexican War." It embraced a series of very entertaining letters written by the father of the essayist, Col. George Nauman, and who served through that war. The letters graphically described the different battles of the conflict and the fact that a Lancastrian participated in all the leading engagements gave them added interest.

Mrs. Robinson was tendered the thanks of the Society for her paper, which was ordered to be published in the pamphlet. Several interesting war reminiscences were recalled by members following the reading of the paper.

Dr. Dubbs announced that the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society will be held in this city next fall, the sessions to be held at Franklin and Marshall College.

The Society then adjourned.

LANCASTER, PA.

REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.

1908.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

APRIL 3, 1908.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

Why was Postlethwaite's Chosen and then abandoned as the
County Seat of Lancaster County - 137

WHY WAS POSTLETHWAITE'S CHOSEN AND THEN
ABANDONED AS THE COUNTY SEAT OF LAN-
CASTER COUNTY? - 168

MINUTES OF THE APRIL MEETING.

VOL. XII. NO. 3.⁴

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1908.

WHY WAS POSTLETHWAITE'S
CHOSEN AND THEN ABANDONED
AS THE COUNTY SEAT OF
LANCASTER COUNTY

Giving an authentically simple of the conditions as they appeared even before the scenes were changed by the first European who had sketches of the massacres of Conestoga Indians, the French, Penn's Troubles, the Indian Councils held at the cabin home of Conestoga, Pennsylvania, Lancaster City, Conestoga and elsewhere.

Why was Postlethwaite's Chosen and then Abandoned as the County Seat of Lancaster County - - - - -	137
By D. H. LANDIS.	
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Going from Millersville to State Highway, one would little suspect that you pass through the main street of what was once the county seat of Lancaster County. There is nothing whatever, to suggest to the traveler as he passes along the road, from George Fehl's corner to the hill at Rock Hill that that section was ever anything else but a few excellent farms. Yet we all know that less than two centuries ago it was the most populous place in what is now Lancaster county. Historians call it Postlethwaite's, because John Postlethwaite had a tavern and a trading-post where George Fehl's house now stands, but, knowing this, one would naturally ask,

why should it have located in such an out-of-the-way place? But, what is more surprising is that when Lancaster

POSTLETHWAITE'S

WHY WAS POSTLETHWAITE'S CHOSEN AND THEN ABANDONED AS THE COUNTY SEAT OF LANCASTER COUNTY?

Giving an authentic sketch of the conditions as they appeared here before the scenes were changed by the first Europeans. Also, brief sketches of the Susquehannock or Conestoga Indians, the Traders, Penn's Troubles, the Palatines, Councils held at the Indian Town of Conestoga, Beginning of Lancaster City, Conestoga Manor and the location and present owners of prominent places which were intimately associated with Postlethwaite's; adding a sketch of John Cartlege, the King's first magistrate of what is now Lancaster County.

Going from Millersville to Safe Harbor, one would little suspect that you pass through the main street of what was once the county seat of Lancaster county. There is nothing, whatever, to suggest to the traveler as he passes along the road, from George Fehl's corner to the hill at Rock Hill, that that section was ever anything else but a few excellent farms. Yet, we all know that less than two centuries ago it was the most prominent place in what is now Lancaster county. Historians call it Postlethwaite's, because John Postlethwaite had a tavern and a trading-post where George Fehl's house now stands, but, knowing this, one would naturally ask,

why should he have located in such an out-of-the-way place? But, what is more surprising is that when Lancaster county was formed, in 1729, this place was of such prominence that it was selected for the county seat of Lancaster county. When that decision was made, John Postlethwaite hurriedly fitted his building for a temporary Court House, which is now George Fehl's dwelling house. In this building the first sessions of Court were held. A prison was built, with a high wall, just west of what is now Hiram Warfel's dwelling, and our oldest residents still remember seeing portions of the wall along the south side of the road there. The ancient and massive arched walls on which Mr. Warfel's dwelling is built indicate that they were built at that early period, also, and were probably the dungeon part of the prison. Mr. Warfel tells us that at many places about his farm he finds old stone foundations of log buildings. There are about thirty licensed public houses, such as Postlethwaite's, in this county at that time,¹ but Postlethwaite's was of more prominence and commanded more license than any others. A place of such prominence may have had a church or a meeting house and a number of residents. It was probably laid out in streets and plots, as its competitors, Wright's Ferry and Lancaster, were. But, singular as it appears, that all this should have been located there, still more surprising is it that all should have so completely disappeared. It was these unusual conditions that have led the writer to investigate. We find the prominence of Postlethwaite's was due, first, to the Indian history surrounding it, and,

¹Rupp's History of Lancaster County.
p. 255.

secondly, to the first European settlements. In order to see why this site should have been a place of such prominence, one must see this section as it appeared at a much earlier period, and review it step by step.

**Authentic Sketches of This Section
Showing Its Appearance Before
the Changes Caused by
Europeans.**

The first view we have of this beautiful and fertile section is when it was inhabited by the great tribe of Susquehannock Indians, who are thus described by Alsop in his quaint, but forcible, way, about 1660:² "The Susquehannocks are a people looked upon by the Christian inhabitants as the most noble and heroic nation of Indians that dwell upon the confines of America; also, are so allowed and looked upon by the rest of the Indians, by submission and tributary acknowledgment, being a people cast into the mold of a most large and warlike deportment, the men being for the most part seven feet high in latitude and in magnitude and bulk suitable to so high a pitch, their voice large and hollow, as if ascending out of a cave, their gait and behavior straight, stately and majestic, treading on the earth with as much pride, contempt and disdain as can be imagined from a creature derived from the same."

These statements are substantiated by Captain John Smith, who saw them at the head of the Chesapeake Bay fifty years before, and also by skeletons which have since been unearthed in this section. This section was then a veritable Indian paradise, with its great forests, its beautiful springs and

²Alsop's Maryland, 1666 (Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 15), p. 72.

streams, and with the Susquehanna River widening out almost into a lake, where grapes, nuts, fish and game were abundant, as Alsop again describes: "Fowls of all sorts and varieties dwell at their several times and seasons here, especially the turkey,³ whom I have seen in whole hundreds in flights in the woods. The swans, the geese and the ducks arrive in millionous multitudes about the middle of September and leave about the midst of March, and plenty of almost all sorts of fishes live and inhabit the several streams and rivers here, far beyond the apprehension or crediting of those who never saw the same."

About a century afterward, in 1763, the settlers here filed a petition complaining of the dams as destroying the former shad, salmon and rockfish⁴ in the Conestoga, and the trout in its tributaries. Alsop continues: "The deer are mighty numerous in the woods, and are little or not at all affrighted by the face of man. They will stand almost until they be scratcht, being daily killed by the Indians and brought in to the English. There is such a glut of their flesh that it is rather denied than esteemed or desired."

Acrelius says of this section about 1750: "The soil, which is at some places 20⁵ feet deep, is so strong and black that it is not adapted to growing wheat, but suitable for growing maize and hemp." When the early explorers met the Indians they found them more agricultural than after their needs were supplied through

³Alsop's Maryland, pp. 38-42.

⁴Momber's History of Lancaster County, p. 372.

⁵Acrelius' "New Sweden" (Memoirs Pennsylvania Historical Society, vol. xi), p. 146.

the traffic with the traders, after which their clothing and their habits greatly changed. Their squaws rudely cultivated^e corn, pumpkins, melons, tobacco, etc., all of which were unknown to Europeans before that period.

Capt Smith states about 1609: "The Indian Cabins are in the midst of fields or gardens, which are small plots of ground, some 20 acres, some 40 acres, some 100^f acres, some 200, some more, some less." The early explorers and first settlers depended almost entirely upon the Indians for food. Smith again states: "I durst undertake to have corn enough from the savages,^g for 300 men, for a few trifles." Hudson's and Harriott's accounts also correspond to Smith's statement. When Gov. Calvert arrived in Maryland in 1634 the natives had such a store of corn that he traded 1,000^h bushels of it and sent it to the colony in New England in exchange for other commodities.

The Fur Traffic.

But with the arrival of Europeans these scenes changed. European traders found it immensely profitable to exchange beads and other inexpensive articles for the valuable hides for which this section was then especially noted. William Claybone, an Englishman of a prominent family, who was granted a charter to trade with the Indians, and located on the Isle of Kent, at the head of the Chesapeake

^eWyth's Graphic Sketches, 1585, D' Bry's Plate, 22; Holms' "New Sweden" (Memoirs Pennsylvania Historical Society, vol. 3, part 1), p. 43; Bartram's Observations, Evans' map, note, pp. 36-37.

^fCaptain John Smith's General History (Richmond edition), vol. 1, p. 131.

^gSmith's General History, vol. 2, p. 188.

^hA Relation of Maryland, 1635 (Sabin's Reprint), p. 13.

Bay, in 1621, was, perhaps, the most prominent trader among the Susquehannock Indians. In 1632, he exported¹⁰ beaver skins alone to the amount of forty thousand crowns in gold. The profit on them was estimated at thirty fold. He acquired an immense estate through this trade. The Dutch at New Amsterdam (now New York); the French Canadians along the St. Lawrence, and the Swedes along the Delaware, soon were in sharp competition for the Susquehannock trade. Among the animals then native¹¹ here were the black fox, which is now scarce in remote Canada, of which a single pelt commands \$150; also, many black squirrels, fishers,¹² otters, wildcats and panthers, and the beavers, of which no sign remains except the name of two of our straems.¹³ There was also a great traffic in bear, deer and elk skins, and Alsop, Lindstrom and the Indian pictures on the rocks at Safe Harbor tell us the¹⁴ Buffalo was here also. Many of the trifling articles, as beads, ornaments, implements, clay pipes, etc., which those traders gave the Indians in exchange for their valuable peltry, have since been ploughed up at the various Indian village sites of our county, and are interesting and valuable assistants in determining the period when the village sites were inhabited, and to what class of traders the wares belonged.

¹⁰Fisk's Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, vol. 1, p. 269; Marylandium (Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 7), p. 49.

¹¹Holms' "New Sweden," p. 157.

¹²Alsop's Maryland, pp. 40 and 66.

¹³Mombert's History of Lancaster County, p. 386.

¹⁴A Relation of Maryland, 1635, p. 22; Holms' "New Sweden," Lindstrom's Map of New Sweden; Landis' Photographs of Inscriptions by Our Aborigines, pp. 18-19.

PROVINCE
Penn's Arrival.

When Wm. Penn arrived in 1682 game had already become reduced through this wholesale slaughter, yet the contest for the Susquehannock trade was still on between the French Canadians, the Dutch, the Swedes and the Marylanders. As there was great danger of these traders inciting the Indians to attack his little colony, he very wisely called the chiefs together, purchased their land and made a peace treaty with them, lest his colony might meet with the same fate that had befallen the Dutch colony at Schwanendal (now Lewes,¹⁵ Del.,) who were massacred fifty years before. Many obstacles confronted him, and perhaps his greatest disappointment was when he found that the 40th parallel (which by Lord Baltimore's charter¹⁶ was clearly Maryland's northern boundary, and which Penn had actually agreed to, in 1680), did not give him a harbor on the Chesapeake Bay, and scarcely enough of one on the Delaware, and especially when he found that Crispin Bezar and Allen had located his "great town" just south of this line. This involved Penn and Lord Baltimore in a boundary dispute which not only occupied the proprietors of the two provinces, but caused endless trouble¹⁷ between individuals, occupied the attention of the Privy Councils of at least three monarchs, and was not adjusted until eighty years afterward in the establishment of the Mason and Dixon line. However, every effort was made to colonize his

¹⁵Day's Historical Collections, p. 9.

¹⁶Dr. Archer's Dismemberment of Maryland, (Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 30), pp. 34-37.

¹⁷Pennsylvania Magazine, October, 1885.

province. As the colonists were crowded in they pushed northward and westward toward the Susquehanna. The westward route they followed was an old Indian trail, long in use in the trade between the Dutch at New Amsterdam and the Susquehannock Indians. The first settlers along this route, through what is now Delaware and Chester counties, were English, Welsh and Scotch-Irish. There were many Quakers among them. These settlements were made principally between 1685 and 1700; very few went beyond the Brandywine, although some Indian traders, adventurers and land speculators were then already investigating the Susquehannock lands.

**Derivations of the Word Conestoga,
and the Compact Which Resulted
in the Indian Reservation at
Conestoga Manor.**

In Penn's first treaty, at Shackamaxon, he had treated with the Susquehannock Indians for the Susquehanna lands, but not with the Five Nations of New York, to whom they were then tributary. The Susquehannocks¹⁸ were not an Algonquin tribe, as the Delawares were, but were of the same linguistic stock as the Five Nations. The Dutch and Swedes called the Susquehannocks, Minques and several similar names. The Marylanders named them Susquehannocks or Susquehannas, and the French Canadians used their tribal name, Gandastogues,¹⁹ meaning cabin-pole-men, from Andasta, the peculiar cabin pole which they used in the construction of their cabins. They also often called the Andastas. The name by which they were known here, Con-

¹⁸Holms' "New Sweden," p. 58.

¹⁹Alsop's Maryland, Dr. Shea's Note, p. 40.

estagos, was merely a modification of Gandastoquis, the name by which the French Canadian traders knew them. In 1635 they could muster 1,300 warriors. They were bitter enemies of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, with whom they were at war about twenty-five years, from about 1650 to about 1675, until finally through the united efforts of the Five Nations they were reduced so much by war and smallpox that in 1675 they could muster only 300 warriors and were completely overthrown. They were then made tributary to the Five Nations, who claimed all the Susquehannas, or Conestogas' former land possessions. It can now be seen why it became necessary for Penn to make a second treaty for the Susquehanna lands. As Penn was then in England, he engaged his friend and agent, Col. Thomas Dougan, a former Governor of New York, to purchase the Susquehanna lands. After holding several councils with the Five Nations in New York, Governor Dougan finally succeeded in getting²⁰ "the river Susquehanna and all the islands therein, and all the land laying on both sides of the river, and next adjoining to the utmost confines of the lands which are, or formerly were, the right of the people called Susquehannas." This deed was conveyed to Penn, January 13, 1696, in consideration of 100 pounds sterling, and was confirmed by two Susquehanna chiefs, September, 1700. The remnant of the tribe remaining here did not approve of the above sale, so Penn, on his second arrival from England, sent for them, and held a council with them at Philadelphia, in 1701. At this council he told the Conestogas that he had been informed that they were sorry that he

²⁰Memoirs Pennsylvania Historical Society, vol. 3, part 2, p. 172.

had purchased the Susquehanna lands from the Five Nations, whereupon he drew out a great roll of parchment and spread it out on the ground, saying to them that, although he had sent a great many goods in a vessel to New York for the land, it should be in common among them, that the Conestogas should enjoy the same privileges on the Susquehanna lands as the English. It is very probable that the Indian Reservation which was here in Manor was the result of this compact.

The First Routes to the Susquehanna Lands and Some Early Visits Here.

As already referred to at that period (1700), the main road westward from the little colony at Philadelphia was the Indian trail, leaving what is now Market street, passing through West Chester, Gap, the Long Lane, past Postlethwaite's, crossing the Conestoga²¹ at Rock Hill, passing over the hill, and crossing the Little Conestoga at Dentlinger's mill, then down the west side of the creek, and in the Indiantown Road to the Indiantown of Conestoga. It was probably along this road that trade was carried on more than half a century before Penn's arrival, between the Dutch at New Amsterdam and the Susquehannas, or Minquas, as they called them. There was another old trail from the Susquehanna lands down along the eastern shore of the river, and led to New Castle, on the Delaware, by way of Christina or Minqua creek,²² as the Swedes called it. Along this route

²¹Joseph Wright; H. F. Eshleman's Map of Early Highways, and Ellis and Evans' History of Lancaster County.

²²Second Pennsylvania Archives, vol. 7, p. 464.

²³Holms' "New Sweden," Lindstrom's Map, and p. 157.

trade was carried on between the Swedes and the Susquehannas, or Minquas, as they called them thirty years before Penn's arrival. It was along this route, known as the New Castle route, that James Logan, then Secretary of the Province, accompanied by two²⁴ New Castle Sheriffs and ten others, made his first visit to Conestoga in 1705. During the same year the noted Quaker preacher, Thomas Chalkley, also visited here. At this time the French and Marylanders were inciting the Indians at Conestoga to make the Proprietaries trouble, and it required some effort to keep the links of friendship bright. In 1706 Governor Evans, with several members of his council, also went to Conestoga by the New Castle route. Before reaching Conestoga he stopped²⁵ at the Indian village of Pequan, which Rupp says was at the mouth of the Pequea creek, where the Indian-trader and interpreter, Martin Chartier, was located. Here Governor Evans met the chiefs of a number of tribes, the Nanticokes alone having seven towns. In 1707 Governor Evans again visited Conestoga with William Penn, Jr., evidently with the design of having a gay time, and by all accounts²⁶ conducted themselves in a very unbecoming manner for such dignitaries.

Penn's Troubles and the Arrival of the Palatines.

Many trying conditions existed then. It was only with a great struggle that

²⁴Rupp's History of Lancaster County, pp. 40-43; Day's Historical Collection, p. 390.

²⁵Rupp's History of Lancaster County, pp. 40-46; H. F. Eshleman's Map of Early Highways; P. W. Sheaffer's Historical Map of Indian Trails; Lindstrom's Map of New Sweden, Holm.

²⁶Rupp's History of Lancaster County, pp. 44-45.

Penn and his heirs succeeded in retaining their rights to their province. Through the efforts of their enemies the governing of Penn's province was given to Governor Fletcher, of New York, who directed the administration from 1693 to 1695. Regaining his rights, Penn returned from England and personally administered from 1699 to 1701. Becoming involved in debt, in 1702 he returned to England and mortgaged²⁷ his magnificent province for 6,600 pounds (about \$30,000). After being harassed by his creditors for a number of years, he was imprisoned for his debts in 1708, and was confined in the Fleet Prison²⁸ a long time. Meantime, the French claimed his province²⁹ west of the Susquehanna, and the Marylanders claimed it to the fortieth parallel. Finally, when about completing arrangements to sell it to Queen Ann, in 1712, for 12,000 pounds, he received an apoplectic stroke, which left him in a hopeless state of imbecility, until he died, in 1718. During all this period great efforts were made by his commissioners and representatives to colonize the province, not only with the purpose of deriving funds from the sale of land to meet his obligations, but to establish possession claims in his trouble with Lord Baltimore and the French. I briefly touch on Penn's trouble here and in England, because it was principally those which spurred on the great efforts made to colonize his province, by offering great inducements and distributing tracts, among which those of Falconer and³⁰ Pastorious were most effective. This, in

²⁷Dr. Archer's Dismemberment of Maryland, pp. 90 and 98.

²⁸Appleton's Encyclopaedia, Penn.

²⁹Mull's Map, 1720.

³⁰Pennypacker's Settlements of Germantown.

connection with the thirty years of civil and religious wars of Europe, resulted in the settlement of the Palatine colony here, which caused the second stage of importance surrounding "the great Conestoga road," and Postlethwaite's. From the foregoing it must be inferred that the Indian trail leading from Philadelphia to Conestoga was used very little by Europeans before 1709, settlements having been made only as far as the Brandywine. About 1709, or a short time before, a number of Mennonite³¹ families, from the Palatinate, along the Rhine, went out this trail, beyond the English and Welsh settlements, and located just east of what is now Strasburg, in the Pequea Valley, where they purchased 10,000 acres of some of the choicest agricultural land in the province. This was the first permanent settlement in what is now Lancaster county. This colony, many of which were persecuted Swiss Mennonites, and French Huguenot families, was augmented and extended throughout the fertile limestone basin northward and westward until in 1717 it composed about 125³² of those sturdy families who came from the garden spot of Europe, and have contributed so much toward³³ making this the garden spot of the Union. It will be seen by looking over this list of names that the descendants of almost every one of these settlers still live in the same locality in which their forefathers settled in the wilderness almost two centuries ago. What this province then

³¹Day's Historical Collections, p. 392; Rupp's History of Lancaster County, part 2, chapter 1; Diffenderfer's German Exodus, 1709.

³²Second Pennsylvania Archives, vol 7, p. 114; Rupp's History of Lancaster County, pp. 117-118.

³³Kuhn's German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania, p. 85.

needed was not squatters and land speculators, but men who paid for the land and got down to work. This was what it had secured in these Palatines.

Important Official Events at the Indian Town of Conestoga.

After this colony had settled here the Conestoga trail became the popular route to the Susquehanna. In 1711 Governor Gookin came by this route and held a conference with the Conestoga Indians on June 18, asking them to protect the Palatine colony recently settled there. The Conestogas assured him "that they were safely³⁴ seated," and never, as long as the Indians were here, was this colony molested. On the 22d of September of this same year the Tuscarora Indians, who were a related tribe to the Conestogas, massacred about 100 Palatine families who had settled near Roanoke, North Carolina. The year before Gov. Gookin went to Conestoga he sent Col. French and Henry Worley to deliver a message to the Conestoga Indians, and it may be of interest to know what the expenses of their trip were. The following items show them: To bread, 4s. 2d.; to meat, 12s.; to rum, 1 pound 10s.; to two men hire for baggage,³⁵ 4 pounds; to John, 1 pound 4s.; total, 8 pounds, 5s. 2d. (\$44.21). The only way they could have traveled was by horseback, with pack horses, as at that period this road was still only an Indian trail.³⁶ In 1714 it was opened as a road to the Brandywine, and in 1718 it was opened from the Brandywine to Conestoga. It was called "The

³⁴Rupp's History of Lancaster County, pp. 87-88; Rupp's Thirty Thousand Names, p. x.

³⁵Day's Historical Collections, p. 392.

³⁶Day's Historical Collections, p. 391.

Great Conestoga Road," all of the present Lancaster county, except the northern and southern extremities, was called Conestoga, but at this period almost all of the Indians were located along the river between Turkey Hill and Bainbridge. Col. French was sent to Conestoga, where he held a council and delivered a message from the Governor June 28, 1719, and on June 27, 1720, Secretary James Logan, "having had some business up the farther end of the Great Valley,"³⁷ held a council with the Indians at Conestoga.

The next notable event at Conestoga Indiantown was the visit of Governor Keith, in 1721. It appears at that time, as the settlers were crowding in, and as game was becoming scarcer, the Conestoga Indians extended their hunting trips down beyond the Potowmack river,³⁸ into territory claimed by the Indians of Virginia, which resulted in causing trouble, so Governor Keith first made a trip to the Governor of Virginia, and returned by way of Conestoga, where he held a council with the Indians July 6th and 8th, 1721. He also got consent of the Indians to survey a Manor of 10,000 acres, just across the river, in what is now York county. Governor Keith's object in locating it there was to gain possession rights in the boundary dispute. What an imposing sight it must have been, to have seen Governor Keith, with his seventy or eighty horsemen, many of them well armed, when they met the chiefs of the Conestogas and the deputies of the Five Nations!

³⁷Rupp's History of Lancaster County, pp. 137-143.

³⁸Carter and Glossbrenner's History of York County, pp. 12 to 19.

The First Indian Killed by an Englishman of Penn's Province.
The Cartleges.

Both James Logan and Governor Keith made their headquarters and held the councils with the Indians at the home of John Cartlege,³⁹ who was no doubt the most prominent person living in what is now Lancaster county at that period. John Cartlege was an Indian trader, an interpreter for the Delaware tribe, was the Proprietary's Indian Agent, and at that time the only one and the first⁴⁰ of the King's Magistrates in what is now Lancaster county, having received his appointment July 4, 1718. In the spring of 1722, while John and his brother, Edmond Cartlege, were on a trading trip near Patowmeck, a dispute arose between them and an intoxicated Indian about rum.⁴¹ The Indian was very angry and hastily took his gun to kill the Cartleges. They, in defense, seized the Indian, and in the struggle the Indian was hurt so badly that he died the next day. This was the first Indian killed⁴² by an Englishman of Penn's province. Occurring at this turbulent period, this caused so great an excitement that the next day Governor Keith sent Secretary Logan and Col. French to Conestoga to investigate the affair, and, although their sympathy was with the Cartleges, for fear the Indians might become aroused they took both John and Edmond Cartlege to Philadelphia and imprisoned them, but

³⁹Rupp's History of Lancaster County, pp. 143-160.

⁴⁰Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 119; Second Pennsylvania Archives, vol. xix, p. 644.

⁴¹Proud's History of Pennsylvania, vol. 2, pp. 145-147; Fourth Pennsylvania Archives, vol. 1, pp. 404-406.

⁴²Proud's History of Pennsylvania, vol. 2, p. 146.

they were finally released, through the intercession of the Indians themselves. This unfortunate affair preyed so much on John Cartlege's mind, however, that he died a few years after he had returned to his home, about 1726. In 1728 some trouble arose between the Shawanee and Conestoga Indians, which resulted in two Conestogas being killed. Wm. Wright,⁴³ a son-in-law of John Cartlege, acquainted Governor Gordon with the facts of the case, and the next notable event in this section was Governor Gordon's trip by way of the "Great Conestoga Road," with a number of members of his council and divers other gentlemen, making their headquarters at the home of Magistrate Andrew Cornish, who had married John Cartlege's widow⁴⁴ and lived at the old Cartlege home. They reached Conestoga May 22, 1728, and after holding⁴⁵ a two-days' council returned to Philadelphia.

Postlethwaite Becomes the County Seat of Lancaster County.

Soon after Governor Gordon's visit public sentiment demanded the organizing of this county. At that time this section was Conestoga township, Chester county, and the county seat was at what is now Chester, Delaware county, over seventy miles away. What now forms Lancaster county had about 2,000 taxpayers,⁴⁶ whose petition was granted, and Lancaster county was formed. Postlethwaite's tavern and trading post was located

⁴³Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 198.

⁴⁴From an old document in James Logan's handwriting, in possession of Thomas Wright.

⁴⁵Rupp's History of Lancaster County, pp. 199 and 206.

⁴⁶Proud's History of Pennsylvania, vol. 2, p. 276; Mombert's History of Lancaster County, p. 370.

adjacent to the Indian town of Conestoga, where all the Indian transactions of importance of the past occurred, and it was practically the termination of the "Great Conestoga Road," the only road then laid out from Philadelphia to the Palatine Colony, which was the very foundation and salvation of the province. It was then only natural that the beautifully located tract at Postlethwaite should be chosen as the site for the county seat, especially as this trading-post and tavern was more prominent, and was more patronized, than any of the thirty other⁴⁷ similar houses then in the county. Consequently, the King's Magistrates, John Wright, Tobias Hendricks, Andrew Cornish, Thomas Reed and Samuel Jones, met at Postlethwaite's in June, 1729. Bills of credit to the amount of 300 pounds were loaned⁴⁸ by Governor Gordon for building a prison and Court House at Postlethwaite's. Accordingly, the prison was completed and John Postlethwaite had made temporary accommodations in his house for court proceedings, where sessions were held, first Tuesday of August, 1729; first Tuesday of November, 1729; February 3, 1730; May 5, 1730, and⁴⁹ August 4, 1730. At these five sessions sixty-four suits were entered and disposed of.

The Beginning of Lancaster City and the Removal of the County Seat.

But suddenly there was a change in the situation of affairs. There were competitors in the field for the loca-

⁴⁷Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 255.

⁴⁸Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 254; Hazard's Register, vol. 8, p. 60.

⁴⁹Lancaster County Historical Society Publications, vol. x, No. 11, pp. 416-430.

tion of the county seat. At Wright's Ferry, now Columbia, Sheriff Barber had taken up a tract of 1,000 acres in 1726, on part of which Magistrate, now President Judge, John Wright had also located. Judge Wright was also one of the four commissioners appointed to select a site for the county seat. These gentlemen were so confident of securing the county seat that they had already built a prison there, and Wright's ferry would probably have been chosen had it not been for the interference of Andrew Hamilton, an eminent Philadelphia lawyer, who was a former Attorney General of the province,⁵⁰ and his son, Col. James Hamilton, who was afterward a Lieutenant Governor of the province. They saw the advantage of being in possession of a tract on which so prominent a town as this county seat would be located. John Postlethwaite had the most prominent location, and was a very prominent man in the community. Sheriff Barber and the President Judge, John Wright, were popular men of considerable political influence, but the Hamiltons were stars of greater magnitude, and the tract which the Hamiltons selected is the present site of Lancaster. This tract was fully four miles north of the "Great Conestoga Road" to Philadelphia, and fully five miles⁵¹ south of the old Peter Bezellon road, which was laid out in 1726, and led from the early settlements of Paxton and Donegal to Philadelphia. This was the only other laid-out road from this section to Philadelphia. There is no evidence that there was even a

⁵⁰Mombert's History of Lancaster County, pp. 362 and 372; Proud's History of Pennsylvania, vol. 2, p. 231, and note, p. 219; p. 216.

⁵¹Ellis and Evans' History of Lancaster County, p. 311; H. F. Eshleman's Map of Early Roads.

prominent Indian trail there, and, strange to say, at the organization of the townships in 1730 Lancaster township was of so little importance, that, although supervisors, overseers of the poor and constables were appointed in the fourteen other townships of the county, the number in proportion to their prominence, Lancaster township was the only one⁵² in which no officers were appointed. It was said George Gibson had a tavern there. We can not see that there would have been any inducement to have a tavern there before this period, nor did he have⁵³ a license at that period; neither does a Gibson deed appear until ten years afterward, when Gibson received⁵⁴ lot 221, of Lancaster townstead, where he no doubt built his "Hickory Tree Tavern." 1740 was still a very early period, and Gibson's was probably the earliest tavern of prominence there, which was remembered by some elderly person long ago, who was not there at the beginning. By the time the county was organized all the desirable tracts of land in "the great valley," as Logan terms it, were taken up, mostly by Palatines, who came to stay and refused to sell it. Roody Mayer (Rudolph Myers),⁵⁵ a Palatine, had settled on this tract as early as 1712, and Ellis and Evans clearly show us that at least a⁵⁶ portion, and probably all, of the tract on which Hamilton located his "Townstead" in 1730 was a portion of a tract of about 5,500 acres, warranted 1717, which had been taken up by twelve

⁵²Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p 353.

⁵³Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 255.

⁵⁴Day's Historical Collections, p. 397.

⁵⁵Lancaster County Historical Society Publications, vol. ix, No. 6, p. 160.

⁵⁶Ellis and Evans' History of Lancaster, pp. 359, 360, 361.

Palatine families, ten or more years before. That they paid for it is also shown by Surveyor General James Steel's postscript, "Thou need not insist on these men's bonds, because they are to pay down the money without delay. Some of them, however, neglected to take out their patents, which Hamilton took advantage of, claiming a portion of it by a title of an unlocated tract, granted in 1682, long before any settlers arrived here. This tract Col. James Hamilton submitted to the four commissioners who were appointed to select a site for the county seat. Three of them approved of this location. The fourth one did, for some unknown reason, not sign the certificate. When their report was submitted to Governor Gordon and his council the commissioners were asked in whom the title of the land rested. They replied that they had not investigated that matter. The report was not then approved, and the Governor sent for ex-Attorney General Hamilton (who was the father of Colonel James Hamilton) and requested him to make["] a thorough investigation of the land in question. One week after the commissioners' report was filed, in March, 1730, Surveyor John Jones surveyed the land and laid out "Lancaster Townstead." They immediately set about to build a prison and a temporary place for the Court, which were completed for the November, 1730, session of Court. The lots were sold and the town was boomed, just as Philadelphia was before and Yorktown afterward, and quite a few other towns since. The same year a petition was granted for a road sixty-six feet wide from Lancaster to Phila-

["]Mombert's History of Lancaster County, p. 368; Ellis and Evans' History of Lancaster County, pp. 359, 360, 361.

adelphia. This is^{ss} what is now known as the "Old Road," although it was never opened its full width. As to Colonel Hamilton's pecuniary interests, it will be found that he reserved ground-rents on all the lots sold, and, by glancing over the journals of a few men who visited Lancaster at different periods, we can form some conception of why he was so much interested, which was at least partly the cause of the removal of the county seat from Postlethwaite's.

Witham Marshe, who visited^{ss} Lancaster in 1744, states: "All the owners of lots and houses here pay ground-rents, greater or less, according to the grant of them by James Hamilton, Esq., who is the proprietor of the town." Governor Pownall, in 1778, states: "When Lancaster was laid out it was the desire of the proprietor to raise an annual revenue from the lots." How well Hamilton succeeded can be seen by the statement of Shopp, in 1783, who says: "Hamilton, a distinguished lawyer, used his influence^{ss} to have the town of Lancaster located on land belonging to him, and his family still draw an annual income of one thousand pounds (\$4,866) from ground rents." These Hamilton ground-rents have caused considerable trouble in the past, and some of them are being collected fromst properties in Lancaster city to-day.

However, Col. Hamilton knew his position, and we see to-day how well he selected his location for the county seat. It will also be remembered that at the very time when Court was

^{ss}Ellis and Evans' History of Lancaster County, pp. 307, 308.

stLancaster County Historical Society Publications, vol. ix, No. 7, p. 233.

^{ss}Mombert's History of Lancaster County, pp. 371-372.

^{ss}Ellis and Evans' History of Lancaster County, p. 368.

in session at Postlethwaite's Thomas Cresap began building his fort, just across the Susquehanna, in defense of Lord Baltimore's northern boundary. When he considered "Philadelphia"⁶² the finest city in Maryland," and as Penn's "great town" was in disputed territory, it is not likely that those in authority wished to risk another town location, as Postlethwaite's is about two miles south of the fortieth parallel, which passes through⁶³ what is now Strasburg, Millersville and Washington Borough.

All subsequent councils between the Governors and the Indian chiefs and all else of importance were after this period done at Lancaster. As Lancaster grew and flourished, the Great Conestoga Road and Postlethwaite's lost prominence, until today the Great Conestoga Road is but an ordinary byroad, and little more than the sites of former places of prominence surrounding Postlethwaite's remain.

In conclusion, I believe it will interest many of us, although more particularly the citizens of Manor and Conestoga townships, to know the locations and a few additional facts concerning some of the places and persons referred to in this paper.

Conestoga Manor.

After starting his "great town" of Philadelphia, one of the first things Penn did was to follow an old English institution of establishing manors. Lord Baltimore had done likewise in Maryland as early as 1636, but Lord Baltimore's manors had a court leet, and court baron, and were partly self-governing, had military power, and

⁶²Dr. Archer's Dismemberment of Maryland, p. 134.

⁶³United States Geological Survey Topographical Map of Lancaster Quadrangle, 1904.

were partly designed as a military⁶⁴ strength of his colony. Penn's manors were not designed that way, or, if so, through his financial troubles the design was not carried out. Penn's agents would select a choice tract of land, which, with a few exceptions, were surveyed and granted to either himself or his heirs, proprietaries, and after the land around these tracts was sold and settled these manors would be divided up and sold to the settlers,⁶⁵ reserving quit-rents on them, which were used by Penn's commissioners to meet his obligations, and later for his heirs. In all, there were about 75 of these manors scattered about the State. Beginning near Philadelphia, they were established westward, as the frontier was extended. The eighth one selected was Conestoga Manor, whose boundary was the same as our present Manor township, except that its northern boundary was a straight line across the course where the present Charlestown road is now located. This is the road going eastward from Wertz's Hotel, at Washington Borough. Conestoga Manor was surveyed in 1717, and then divided up and sold to the settlers. At first the entire southwestern portion, known as Turkey Hill, was reserved for a reservation for the Conestoga Indians, which was finally reduced to 414 acres. On this reservation the Indian town of Conestoga was located.

Blue Rock.

While Postlethwaite's was practically the termination of the Great Conestoga Road, as before stated, the road led to the Indian town of Con-

⁶⁴Fisk's Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, vol. 2, pp. 131, 132.

⁶⁵Third Pennsylvania Archives, vol. iv, map 11.

river, northward past Blue Rock, then up the river. At Blue Rock the proprietaries reserved 3,000 acres for a time, probably for the location of Penn's "town on the Susquehanna," but it was afterward sold to settlers. The ferry crossing the river at this point was the most prominent along the Susquehanna before Wright's Ferry was established, being the one used by the Cartleges, James Patterson, Peter Chartier, and other Indian traders. No doubt Governor Keith crossed here on his return from Virginia in 1721. John Penn, a grandson of Wm. Penn, who made a tour through Eastern Pennsylvania, in 1788, made this note in his journal on April 15: "From Lancaster I rode alone over to Blue Rock. The road^{ee} estoga, and from there the Indian trail led out to the Susquehanna wants frequent direction. I spent a great part of the day examining the grounds, not returning until dark. The consequence of this ride was the resolution I made of keeping or purchasing near 200 acres round a spot admirably calculated for a county seat. It is the highest situation there, and commands the distant banks of the Susquehanna, and several islands, which might, many of them, be collected into one front prospect. The grounds behind and on each side fall finely, and may be seen from this spot, to the extent of the above number of acres, except in a few low places, in some of which a strong supply of water runs through excellent meadow lands, now perfectly green."

Blue Rock is now almost forgotten. It is the point where the Blue Rock Road reaches the river. About a century ago an enterprising^{ee} individual

^{ee}John Penn's Journal.

^{ee}Ellis and Evans' History of Lancaster County, p. 96.

tried to boom a town there, and had received a charter for a bridge across the river.

**The Locations of Cresap's Fort and
the Indian Town of Conestoga,
Where the Conestoga Indians
Were Massacred.**

Just across the river, in York county, can be seen the massive walls of Thomas Cresap's fort, which he built in 1729. It is now the basement of the dwelling of B. C. Gnaw, and is durable enough to last at least another century. Cresap had been granted this tract, including a charter for Blue Rock Ferry, by Lord Baltimore, and bravely defended Maryland's northern boundary for seven years, when he was overpowered by the Pennsylvanians and taken in chains to Philadelphia and imprisoned. Going from Blue Rock back to Indian town, along the Indian trail, about one-half-mile southeast of Blue Rock, on the H. G. Wittmer farm, and westward to the river, we find, through the many Indian-trader articles found there, a recent Indian village site. Again, following the trail about two and one-half miles eastward, we reach the Habecker mill farm, where the trader beads, clay pipes, etc., reveal another recent Indian village site. About one-half mile east of the Habecker farm, at the neglected spring on the property of John Ehrhart, is still another recent Indian village site. It is highly probable that as recent as during Governor Gookin's visit, in 1711, when the Indians were still numerous, that they occupied the sites near the river. In the vicinity of the Habecker farm, and what is now locally known as Coffee street, also still known as Indian town, the last reservation of 414 acres was located. It is supposed

that Captain Civility's cabin,⁶⁸ in which Governor Keith first met the four Deputies of the Five Nations, was located near the spring where Isaiah Hess now lives. The last Indian cabin was standing on the opposite side of the road, just east of the run. It had been moved there from Ehrhart's spring, and was occupied by Isaac Koons, when Rupp visited it fifty years ago.⁶⁹ In a few bark-covered log-cabins of their own construction on the west side of Ehrhart's spring the last twenty Conestogas lived—six men, five women, six boys and three girls, the last⁷⁰ remnant of the once powerful and haughty Susquehannocks, the last of the Conestogas who protected our first settlers, and supplied them with their first food. They, in return, lost their hunting grounds, leaving them little more than miserable beggars, trying to eke out an existence by making and selling baskets and hickory brooms, and while thus engaged, on December 14 and 27, 1763, were cruelly massacred by the pale faces whom they nursed and befriended.

A very rare tract, written and printed by Franklin in 1764, states that Shehaes, one of the slain, had assisted in the second treaty of Wm. Penn, in 1701, and narrates the massacre as the most horrible that was ever heard of, and was perpetrated by a mob of Presbyterian settlers, calling themselves "The Paxton Boys," led on by Rev. Mr. Elder, persuading themselves that they were doing God's work.

⁶⁸Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 155.

⁶⁹Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 356.

⁷⁰Mombert's History of Lancaster County, pp. 183-184.

John Cartlege, the King's First Magistrate.

About one-half-mile southeast of Ehrhart's spring, now the estate of the late Daniel L. Shank, was the home of John Cartlege. The old log house, a building about twenty feet¹¹ square, which Rupp also visited, was located near the southeast corner of the present dwelling. In that house Logan met the Indian chiefs in 1720, and there Governor Keith held his notable two-day council with them in 1722. After John Cartlege's death, Magistrate Andrew Cornish¹² married Cartlege's widow and also lived at the Cartlege home, when in 1728 Governor Gordon held a council¹³ with the chiefs in the same house. John Cartlege was no doubt the most prominent man in this section at that period, and the first living in what is now Lancaster county who held an official position. He was a son of Edward Cartlege, a prominent Quaker from Ridings, County of Darby, England, who located at what is now Darby, Delaware county, Pa., in 1683, where John Cartlege was born, March 5, 1684, and married Elizabeth Bartram (an aunt of John Bartram, the botanist). He moved to Conestoga about 1712, where he bought 300 acres of land, and in 1616 was given¹⁴ 200 acres additional for pasture for a period of fourteen years, in consideration of the good service he had done among the new settlers of these parts, as well as among the Indians. He was a licensed Indian trader, was an interpreter of

¹¹Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 199.

¹²From an old document in James Logan's handwriting, in possession of Thomas Wright.

¹³Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 199.

¹⁴Pennsylvania Archives, vol. xix, pp. 644 and 569.

the Delaware tongue, was an Indian agent for the Proprietaries and was appointed¹¹⁹ His Majesty's Magistrate July 4, 1718. He was a prominent Quaker, as were also his descendants, two generations after him. The unfortunate occurrence which resulted in his imprisonment, which I have already related, preyed on his mind to such a degree that he died about 1726.

The Shenk farm is a portion of the above tract of land. The venerable Joseph Wright, who is now over eighty-two years old, is John Cartlege's great-great-grandson, and still lives on a portion of the Cartlege tract. Mr. Thomas Wright, of Millersville, is a great-great-great-grandson. To these gentlemen I am indebted for some of the above information.

The Postlethwaite's Grave Yard and Cartlege's Grave.

About one-fourth-mile west of George Fehl's home (where the first sessions of Court were held), just west of the line fence between Adam Murry and Hiram Warfel, in the corner of Mr. Warfel's field, on the north side of the road, the old Postlethwaite's grave yard was located; it was about fifty feet square. Mr. Jacob Fehl, who, if still living, would now be about 120 years old, and whose ancestors lived at Postlethwaite's several generations before he did,¹²⁰ always staunchly maintained that the grave of the first Judge of Lancaster county was there. And Mr. Warfel states that some years ago some of the members of the Lancaster Bar were making an effort to place a monument there. This grave yard must have been more

¹¹⁹Rupp's History of Lancaster County, p. 119.

¹²⁰John R. Witmer, Hiram Warfel and others.

than a family grave yard, as is shown by the fact that it is positively known that Wm. Wright was buried there. Wm. Wright was married to John Cartlege's daughter, and owned and lived on the old Cartlege property. There was no grave yard on the Cartlege property then, but after Wright's death, in 1756, this property was divided between his four sons, each locating on a portion. Each one of the four tracts was then provided with a family grave yard. The widowed mother lived with her son, Thomas, at the old Cartlege home many years, and died in 1815, at the age of ninety-six years. Although her husband, Wm. Wright, was buried at Postlethwaite's,¹⁶⁷ by this time that place had so completely lost its former prominence that she desired that her remains should be interred in her son Thomas' family grave yard, and where her inscribed tombstone can be seen, just west of the buildings on the Shenk farm. The above seems to prove that before the family grave yards were placed on the Cartlege property Postlethwaite's was their grave yard, and it is only natural that the English-speaking community would have placed a public burying-ground there at a prospective town site, which was their custom. There may also have been a meeting house there. It is not positively known where John Cartlege's grave is, but from the above one would naturally conclude that his remains and also those of his widow and her second husband, Magistrate Andrew Cornish, were placed in the Postlethwaite's grave yard. John Wright was President Judge when five of the King's Magistrates presided

¹⁶⁷Thomas Wright's grand-aunt, who was at his funeral.

at the first Court, held at Postlethwaite's, and is considered the first Judge of Lancaster county. Whether John Cartlege was known as Judge, Justice or Magistrate we don't know, but, as he received his appointment as the King's Magistrate ten years before John Wright settled at Wright's Ferry, there is no doubt it was he to whom Mr. Fehl's tradition refers.

About twenty-eight years ago a former owner of the Warfel property removed the tombstones and ploughed up the Postlethwaite's graveyard. Old residents state that there were at least half a dozen inscribed tombstones there, and also a number of uninscribed, older ones. There was one unusually large, roughly-dressed limestone among the older ones. It is not positively known if it bears an inscription or not, but this stone most likely marked John Cartlege's grave. It can be found walled into a pigsty nearby. All the Mennonite and Quaker graves in this section of that early period are marked by rough stones, without inscriptions, and very few bear inscriptions before 1750. Very likely that was the case with the older graves there. These uninscribed tombstones only assist in concealing, instead of revealing, much of the past which we would like to know.

*Post Report of the Inter-State
Survey Commission; Report on the
S. Coast and Geodetic Survey for 1897;
Proceedings Philosophical Society, No.
187; Proceedings of the State Histori-
cal Society of Wisconsin for 1897;
Carnegie Library Bulletin, Penn-Car-
negie Magazine, Linden Hall Club
Bulletin N. Y. Public Library, and
Bulletin N. Y. State Library for March
1898; postal card of Genl. John A.
Hattier, from E. E. Haecker; Honey
Clay medal from H. B. Vonderhaar.*

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pamphlet on Mt. Vernon, Vir., from
E. W. Shipp, Meadville, Pa. Tribute
to old Lancaster (unpublished).

Minutes of the April Meeting.

Land Curious _____ to the Society

Lancaster, Pa., April 3, 1908.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting this (Friday) evening in its quarters in the Smith Library Building, on North Duke street, there being a very good attendance of members.

President Steinman was in the chair, and a majority of the officers were present.

The names of Henry N. Howell, of this city, and Ira R. Kraybill, of Mt. Joy, were presented for membership, and, under the rules, the applications will be acted upon at the next meeting.

Librarian Sener announced a number of valuable donations to the Society since the last meeting, as follows:

Report of Lancaster Board of Health 1907; History of England, The Peruvian Princess, an old novel, Corderie Colloquiorune, 1762, Pocket Hymn book of 1800, Map of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Mary Bair; two local view post cards, D. B. Landis; Twenty-first Annual Report U. S. Inter-State Commerce Commission; Report of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey for 1907; Proceedings Philosophical Society, No. 187; Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1907; Carnegie Library Bulletin, Penna-German Magazine, Linden Hall Echo, Bulletin N. Y. Public Library, and Bulletin N. Y. State Library for March, 1908; postal card of Genl. John A. Sutter, from E. E. Habecker; Henry Clay medal from H. B. Vondersmith,

pamphlet on Mt. Vernon, Vir., from E. W. Shippen, Meadville, Pa. Tribute to Old Lancaster (purchased).

Mr. George H. Ranck, formerly the owner and publisher of The New Holland Clarion, presented to the Society a complete file of that newspaper from its first issue in 1873 until 1903, thirty volumes in all. This we believe is the only complete file of this paper in existence, and is the Society's only file of a county newspaper and is an acquisition of unusual value.

The thanks of the Society were extended to the donors.

The essayist of the evening was Mr. David H. Landis, of Windom, who read a very entertaining paper on the subject, "Why Was Postlethwaite's Chosen and Then Abandoned as the County Seat of Lancaster County?" Postlethwaite's was one of the earliest taverns and trading posts in Lancaster county, being located at what is now Rock Hill, in Manor township. It was one of the principal points along the famous Conestoga Indian trail, the main route in those early days from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna River. Mr. Landis dwelt at length on the Susquehanna or Conestoga Indians and the developments which led up to the determination to make Postlethwaite the county seat. Through the efforts, however, of Andrew Hamilton, who laid out the town of Lancaster, and from the fact that at that time Lancaster was a settlement of considerable size, the location of the county seat was changed. The paper showed much research and is a valuable addition to the Society's work.

Attention was called to the fact next year will mark the two hundredth anniversary of the first settlers locating in Lancaster county and the suggestion was made that the event should be appropriately observed.

PAPERS READ

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The paper brought forth some interesting discussions, which were participated in by Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs, F. R. Diffenderffer, S. M. Sener, President Steinman, H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., and others.

The thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Landis and the paper was ordered to be printed in the pamphlet.

After the close of the regular meeting, the Executive Committee held the usual monthly session, at which some unfinished business was concluded, and new topics taken up, which will be laid before the Society at its next monthly meeting.

NOTES ON AMOS AND ELIAS E. ELLMAN
AN OLD DIARY
ROBERT BELL, PRINTER
A REVOLUTIONARY LETTER
MINUTES OF THE APRIL MEETING

VOL. XII. NO. 5.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1868.

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BEFORE THE

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MAY 1, 1908.

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VOL. XII. NO. 5.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1908.

NOTES ON AMOS AND ELIAS E. ELLMAKER

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The demolition of the long, low, frame building in the first square of North Duke street, known as the Ellmaker law office, removes a landmark of "Barbary Coast." Generations of lawyers occupied it, and while the widow of the late W. Ellmaker

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correspondence of so distinguished a man as Amos Ellmaker, during nearly a-half century of active literary and professional life, could fail to have some public or private interest.

One of the treasures that has come to light was the note he took of law lectures at Litchfield, Connecticut, where he studied early in the last century; and, as appears from a letter still extant, the taking of written notes as a student was rather irksome to him.

It will be remembered that he was born in 1787; graduated from Princeton College in the class of 1805, and after completing his law studies he established himself in the practice

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of his profession in Harrisburg. He was an officer in the army which marched to the defense of Washington in 1812.

NOTES ON AMOS AND ELIAS E. ELLMAKER

The demolition of the long, low, frame building in the first square of North Duke street, known as the Ellmaker law office, removes a landmark on "Barbary Coast." Generations of lawyers occupied it, and, while the widow of the late N. Ellmaker lived, it remained a fixture on a valuable lot, centrally located, and which is now to be improved with a handsome modern office building. In the attic of this structure great masses of letters, briefs and other manuscripts have long been stored; and dust deep and thick had settled upon them for years. Some interesting and valuable papers have been found there, though the best of the historical material had been winnowed out before; but none of the correspondence of so distinguished a man as Amos Ellmaker, during nearly a-half century of active literary and professional life, could fail to have some public or private interest.

One of the treasures that has come to light was the notes he took of law lectures at Litchfield, Connecticut, where he studied early in the last century; and, as appears from a letter still extant, the taking of written notes as a student was rather irksome to him.

It will be remembered that he was born in 1787; graduated from Princeton College in the class of 1805, and after completing his law studies he established himself in the practice

of his profession in Harrisburg, Pa. He was an officer in the army which marched to the defense of Baltimore in 1812. Later he was appointed Prosecuting Attorney for Dauphin county, Pa., and was elected three times from the same county to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. In 1814 he was elected to Congress, but declined, having been appointed President Judge of the Dauphin-Lebanon-Schuylkill district. A little later he resigned his Judgeship to become Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, which he also resigned, and in 1821 settled down to the practice of law in Lancaster. In 1817 he declined the portfolio of the War Department in President Monroe's Cabinet. In 1832 he was the candidate of the Anti-Masonic party for Vice President of the United States, on the ticket with William Wirt. In 1834 he was defeated by James Buchanan in the election for United States Senator. Buchanan and George M. Dallas, in 1810, later President and Vice President of the United States, respectively, had been among Ellmaker's deputies when he was the Attorney General of Pennsylvania. He died in Lancaster, Pa., on November 28, 1851.

Mr. J. Watson Ellmaker, of this city, is a son of Esaias Ellmaker, who was a younger brother of Amos, and the uncle of the late Nathaniel Ellmaker. He came into the possession of much valuable correspondence of his distinguished forebears. Among them is this interesting letter, written by Amos Ellmaker, from College, to his father:

From this letter it appears that lectures or studies were given during the vacations, from loaned copies, no doubt, or bought outright by those students whose state of health would not permit such violent exertion, in

"To Mr. Nathaniel Ellmaker,
"Lancaster County.
"March 20, 1804.

"Dear father:

"I received your letter of the 9th Instant, in which was one enclosed for Dr. Smith, but of which you made no mention. I gave it to him. I am rejoiced to hear that you and the family are well. I am in good health. This season of the year renders the health the sedentary, precarious. I caught a violent cold some days ago, which confined me a while, tho' all was soon over. I will this day send for a small trunk to take my cloathes home in. I have to studies to write for next session. Each person must, when he enters the Junior or Senior class, purchase studies at the beginning of the year. I therefor got studies last fall which will serve untill next fall. The vacation after the next will be the time to prepare the studies. But nothing is lost by buying studies for the junior & senior years, as they always can be sold at least for the same price unless abused. I woud not like to write my studies; It is true I write much now but never more than a few minutes at a time.

"From your ever Affect. Son
"AMOS ELLMAKER."

"The 'studies' referred to in this letter were probably copies of certain sets of lectures, such as President Witherspoon's discourses on Moral Philosophy; there are several of these in the handwriting of Witherspoon's students, now in the alumni collection of the Princeton University Library. From this letter it appears that these lectures or 'studies' were copied during the vacations, from loaned copies, no doubt, or bought outright by those students whose state of health would not permit such violent exertion. In

them may possibly be found a remote ancestor of our modern half-tolerated and half-encouraged syllabus," says the "Princeton Alumni Weekly," of February 9, 1801, at which time Mr. Ellmaker had loaned the original letters to the University Library.

Another Noted Ellmaker.

It is not so well known hereabouts, however, that Amos Ellmaker had an elder brother, who had strong intellectual qualities, which by reason of his early death never so matured as to earn for him the distinction of his kinsman. Elias E. Ellmaker was graduated from Princeton in 1801, having previously graduated, in the class of 1799, from Dickinson College, Carlisle—then a Presbyterian institution, later and now under Methodist control. He was prepared for college by instruction at the Pequea Academy, under Rev. Dr. Robert Smith. Then the classical academy kept close to the Presbyterian Church, and the preacher was generally a teacher of the youth as well as an intellectual, social and even political leader of the adults. It was of this Parson Robert Smith that the writer, in his monograph on the "Scotch-Irish in Lancaster County," says:

"How simple, for example, these entries in the Bible of a Londonderry immigrant, converted by Whitfield at fifteen: 'Dec. 27, 1749, licensed to preach the gospel; May 22, 1750, married Betsey Blair; Oct. 9, 1750, accepted a call from Pequea and Leacock; March 25, 1751, ordained and installed; March 16, 1751, on Saturday, at 10 o'clock p. m., my son Samuel was born. I Samuel, 1:xx., "She bare a son and called his name Samuel, saying because I have asked him of the

Lord." Then in rapid succession—before the days of 'race suicide'—the Lord so heard him—within thirteen years, eight in all! And yet in that humble parsonage, up there almost in the wilderness, where Robert Smith served his God and ministered to his people continuously for forty-two years, 'a great part of the clergy of this State received the elements of their education or perfected their theological studies.' Under that lowly roof, associated for a time with the great divine who was the head of its household, was James Waddell, the 'Blind Preacher,' whom William Wirt immortalized, whom Patrick Henry declared to be the greatest orator of his time, and who became the progenitor of the giant Alexanders of Princeton. One of Smith's pupils, John McMillen, became the apostle of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania, founded Jefferson College, and, from a log cabin in Washington county, sent more young men into the ministry than any other individual in the continent before the days of theological seminaries. From the loins of that same Robert Smith sprang a son, John Blair, who became president both of Hampden Sidney and Union Colleges, and that eldest son, Samuel Stanhope, whose birth he reverently chronicled as 'asked of God,' lived to become Professor of Moral Philosophy, reorganized Princeton College when the incidents of the Revolutionary War had dispersed its students and faculty, married Witherspoon's daughter and succeeded him in the Presidency of Princeton."

Strangely enough, William Wirt, the brilliant Virginia lawyer, whose speech on this "blind preacher," James Waddell, became an American classic, ran

on the same Presidential ticket with Amos Ellmaker, whose brother—possibly himself—was an acadamy boy on the log benches of the high school at Pequea Church.

This Elias E. Ellmaker, elder brother of Amos, and uncle of the late Nathaniel, is recalled to the writer, who recently “picked up” a volume entitled “The Revelation of Rights, by Elias E. Ellmaker, Esq., published at Columbus, Ohio, in 1841.” It was apparently “printed for the publisher” ten years after the death of its author—and it would be interesting to know why, having prepared it for publication, it never was printed in his lifetime. He inscribed it “To the Human Family,” instead of dedicating it, after the earlier fashion, to some patron of wealth or person of fame. He sought the “humble approbation of the honest and independent heart wherever it may be found;” and in his preface he recognizes that he “rows against the wind and stems the tide;” he fearlessly declared against “all tyranny or bondage,” and planted his “eternal veto against all usurpation by man, and all tyranny, slavery, rapine and murder, in the name or under the titled authority of government.” It was throughout a passionate appeal against African slavery and every other form of physical or intellectual bondage.

The author of this book began the practice of law at Waynesburg, Greene county, Pa.—then as yet one of the most backward county seats in the State—and died in Philadelphia at the age of thirty-one—about ten years after his graduation. After another decade, one J. S. Morris published his book.

In the annals of Princeton College

and University this Ellmaker is notable and important because one of his letters throws a flood of light on the student riots that played so important a part in the early history of the institution. The Princeton Weekly, heretofore quoted, says:

"The varicus histories of Princeton mention the Great Fire of 1802, when Nassau Hall was burned and an investigation failed to prove that the students started the fire, though they were, apparently, the only ones suspected; and of the Great Rebellion of 1807, when the undergraduates barred the doors and windows of Nassau Hall, repulsed the faculty's attack and withstood the siege for several days. It was a time of tactless discipline, that defeated its own ends and bred a spirit of discontent among the students probably unparalleled in the annals of the college. Besides, they had no athletics in those days, to teach self-control and to afford a safety-valve for superabundant physical energy. It was the same spirit of discontent, doubtless, that gave rise to the 'revolution' so graphically described below, and which, so far as The Weekly knows, is not mentioned in any of the histories, though, in the opinion of Elias Ellmaker, it 'exceeded any that has heretofore ever happened.'

"to Mr. Nathaniel Ellmaker

"Lancaster County

"Pennsylvania.

"P. Colledge February 28th 1800.

"Dear Father

"I this day received yours dated the 23....I have (as I conceive) made considerable progress in my studies this session. I have studied Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry & am now studying Surveying; & my leisure

hours, which are few, I employ in reading such books as are & will be applicable to my studies in Colledge.But I must also tell you now that we have had a revolution in colledge perhaps that exceeded any that has heretofore ever happened, the circumstances of which I shall mention in as summary manner as possible. The mornings being very cold this winter & the tutors praying very long in the morning, some of the students fell into a practice of scrapping & disturbing them during their performance they past undetected for some considerable time. At last they took up three members of the Senior Class on suspicion they told them that they had proof of their guilt the students thinking that they had, immediately confessed thinking by that means to be cleared however it proved the contrary & they were immediately suspended from college. two of the Gentlemen being Virginians & the greater part of the students being from that settlement, thought the determination of the faculty to be too severe they according together with a number of others determined to resent it by disturbances Bullets, brick-bats &c, barrels of stones and other combustibles rung through the colledge for two or three days. Dr. Smith lectured us, all was silent for about two weeks one of the other Gentlemen who was suspended took it in his head to beat some of the tutors. he accordingly by a concerted plan, lay in weight in the entries (it being after night) whilst one of the students rolled a three pounder the tutor coming out to pick up the bullet, he immediately attacked him & beat him, then cleared himself unknown. This again stirred up the students & for about three days

the Colledge re-echoed with stones. Dr. Smith lectured us, called us together about ten o'clock at night, but all in vain, he then determined to shut up colledge, till a board of trustees met. But fortunately all disturbance ceased & the Colledge returned to its former regularity &c

"No more at present

"from your affectionate &

"ELIAS ELLMAKER

"To Nathaniel Ellmaker.

"P. S. You mentioned that Margaret was preparing some stockings for me. I also wish that she would make me some shirts which might be sent on by Hand's Sons. I shall not want any money this session unless something unforseen should happen."

The "Weekly" continues: "Who the unfortunate tutor was for whom the Virginian 'lay in weight' is not certainly known, but as Henry Hollock 1794 and Frederick Beasly 1797 were the tutors for the year 1800, it was probably one of these. Tutor Beasly was afterward Provost of the University of Pennsylvania."

The "Margaret" referred to in the "postscript" was, of course, Margaret Ellmaker, afterwards married to George Kinzer, of Earl township. The "Hand's Sons" referred to were sons of Gen. Edw. Hand, who lived and died at "Rockford," on the Conestoga, near "Indian Hill" and "Williamson Park," between Witmer's Bridge and Reigart's Landing. He was Washington's Adjutant and a member of the Continental Congress, 1784-5. He sent his boys to Princeton. One can see his grave and tombstone at the south-east corner of St. James' Episcopal Church, by glancing over the Orange street church-yard wall. The blood spots of the Hand suicide will never fade from the parlor floor at "Rockford."

Mr. Zahm was small of stature, upright and walked along the street slowly and deliberately. Everybody seemed to know him well, and he was fond of talking to everybody. He was made more familiar by the passage of time.

AN OLD DIARY

(INTRODUCTORY.)

The brief paper which is to follow this introduction consists of a series of extracts selected from a diary kept by Matthias Zahm, beginning in 1835, and ending in 1849. Although Mr. Zahm died thirty-two years ago, there are, no doubt, a number of persons present who remember him well, for there was no more familiar face than his seen on the streets of Lancaster during the fifty years preceding his death on August 12, 1874. A few preliminary words, however, as to his personality will not be out of order.

Matthias Zahm came of sturdy German ancestry. He was born in 1789, and lived to the patriarchal age of eighty-five years. He was one of a family of five brothers, all of whom lived here, I believe. Race suicide not yet having become a fad, he became the father of four sons and four daughters, many of whose descendants are still living in this community.

Although everybody knew "Grandpap" Zahm fifty years ago, if you go out into the city and make inquiries as to his history about the only thing you will learn is that he was court-crier for an unremembered number of years. As the writer knew him only by sight, he is unable to add any personal recollections. But during the twenty-five years that he saw him almost daily, and often listened to him, he attained some knowledge of the man.

Mr. Zahm was small of stature, upright and walked along the street slowly and deliberately. Everybody seemed to know him, and as he was fond of gossip and story-telling he made many pauses as he passed along. Every one bid him the day, if nothing more. He was a man of shrewd common sense, with strong likes and dislikes, and he was as liberal in expressing himself of his opinions of persons and things as any man in the city. He could be sharply sarcastic and was never given to thinking one thing and saying another.

He was a close observer, both of men and things, and for many years was accustomed to note in what may be termed a note-book or diary his observations on persons and the things that were going on in the busy world around him. Some of the most piquant of his notes can not be reproduced here because they might offend the relatives of those concerning whom they were made.

But, for all that, he was a most genial man and a hearty friend. He was liberal of his means and of his advice, and the former was often more acceptable than the latter, but, as he was good natured at heart, everybody was his friend.

For more than forty years he was the crier in the Lancaster Courts. Prior to becoming such he had been a tipstaff, and, in consequence, he had been an officer of the Court for a full half century. He was rarely sick, and never absent from his post of duty during his entire official life, save during the last two terms of Court prior to his death, when his health began to fail.

He was stricken with paralysis on

Monday, August 10, and died the following Wednesday, August 12, 1874. He resided at No. 227 East Orange street, and was buried from that place on Saturday, August 15, in the Lancaster Cemetery. He would have completed his eighty-fifth year had he lived until the following Monday.

F. R. D.

1836.

January 14—About 6 a. m. Charles Nauman's livery stable was set on fire and it was destroyed. The house in which Charles Nauman and Arthur Armstrong lived was destroyed also. The property belonged to Mr. Armstrong. This was the third fire within three weeks—none accidental.

January 23—6:30 a. m.—The citizens were again called to action by the cry of fire. The stable of Mrs. Hall, property of James Evans, was set on fire. The fourth fire since December 28th.

February 7—Judge Franklin died this morning about 2 o'clock.

February 26—The silent watch began duty to-night.

April 22—About 11:20 p. m. we had the most splendid northern lights imaginable. It burst forth from the north like a cloud of fire and smoke, and formed a beautiful large star of red, white and blue streaks. At first nearly always in vibration until it reached the middle of the horizon, where the center of the star became red. It extended to the east and west, then passed toward the south and disappeared. Lasted about 22 minutes.

May 7—John Wise made a grand balloon ascension with his new balloon. The balloon was burned in Harford county.

May 12—A large meteor was seen between 8 and 9 o'clock. It passed from south to north, then northwest, with a rumbling noise like thunder.

May 14—Frost, killing the plants.

May 31 and June 5—Fire in stoves.

August 31—Frost in exposed places.

October 7.—This afternoon about 4 o'clock Gen. Harrison was escorted into Lancaster, on which occasion the malignant opposition showed their wisdom by directing the boys to hoist several petticoats, and carrying Van Buren flags and making some boys drunk at night.

October 8—Gen. Harrison left Lancaster without opposition.

October 12—Severe snow storm. The trees so heavy with snow many were split and many branches broke.

November 21—Began to dig at the Court House pavements, east and west, to lay water pipes.

1837.

February 20—Last night the pumps at the City water works were started for the first time, pipes pumped full to reservoir.

February 22—To-day the water was let into the basin and down East King street as far as the Court House, where a section of hose was attached to the plug at Ross' corner, when a splash of water and drunken squabble ended the solemnity of the day.

April 23—Snow about five inches deep; trees bending with weight of snow.

May 22—Small notes issued by the city—shinplaster currency.

May 27—Metallic currency panic is staring us in the face. \$60,000,000 owing to England, and all Jackson's experiment a bubble. Benton's mint-drops the only relief, and none in the market.

June 15—Began to dig on East Orange and Shippen streets to lay water pipes.

July 3—Water was turned into the pipes on East Orange, Shippen and Lime streets.

September 13—Frost in low places.

1838.

March 29—Railroad bridge near Downingtown burned.

May 3—Firemen's parade. The American Company had a boat about 18 feet long on four wheels, drawn by four gray horses, representing the landing of Columbus. The people in the boat, representing Indians, were, John L. Benedict, banner-bearer; Daniel Roth, John Booring, Conrad Anna, Adam Dellet, Mathias Zahm, and G. M. Zahm as Queen, with D. Rota's little girl as an Indian child; S. Stambach, interpreter.

May 30—About 7 p. m. fire was discovered. In about two hours the following stables were in ashes: Two belonging to Mr. W. Cooper, one on each side of the alley in the rear of West King street, one owned by Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg, one by Dr. Fahnestock. One of George Ford's and one belonging to Mrs. Hoff, in which the fire started. Supposed to have been set on fire.

May 31—About noon the walls of the city basin began to give way; by evening the northeast and south walls were down in the basin; also, part of the division wall.

June 4—Voting for school laws; polled 574 votes; only one against the schools.

July 25—Butter sold in our markets this morning at 25 cents. Outrageous!

August 1—Water turned into the repaired basin.

August 8—Potatoes sold at \$1.50 per bushel on market to-day.

September 27—The embankment outside the basin slipping away.

December 8—To-day some soldiers from Philadelphia passed through Lancaster for Harrisburg to protect the State Capitol against anarchy and misrule, carried on at the seat of government by a set of outlaws from different parts of the State. To-night several hundred more arrived here, to continue their journey to-morrow. A meeting was called to-night at the Court House to keep up the excitement. Speeches were made by G. W. Barton, R. Frazer and others.

December 9.—The soldiers from Philadelphia left here for Harrisburg—about eight hundred.

1840.

Great excitement between the political parties, and both parties confident of success. Hickory poles have been put up in every section of the city and county, in lanes and alleys. The Harrison poles are known by a log cabin and key on top. Newspaper slander is the order of the day. Each party publishes outrageous lies about the other candidate. They keep at loggerheads continually, publishing trash and nonsense disgraceful to the morals of a civilized society. Meetings were held four months before the election, and marching with drum and fife by both parties every night except Sunday.

1842.

February 16—Severe snowstorm, four to five inches deep. Many drifts, very deep; no trains from Harrisburg for three days.

June 9—The fish and ball taken from the Lutheran steeple.

June 23—The fish and ball put up again.

July 4—Flag presented to Finley's Company.

October 5—Got a ton of coal from Robert Johnston. The only ton I could get in Lancaster at the time. Paid \$5.87.

1843.

March 17—Severe snowstorm 18 inches deep on level.

March 19—Fire destroyed the session house of the Episcopalian congregation.

May—This is the greatest time for humbugs that was ever known. An old Yankee from New York State has been preaching since last summer that the world is to end April 1, 1843. The world is to be burned, but his crazy followers are to be taken up on a large plate of glass until the fire was out, and then come down again and dwell with the elect, but when it drew nigh to the 1st of April the 3d was fixed and then the 23d. Before the 23d the shrewd Yankee came out in public print denying that he had fixed any particular date, but set the time between April, 1843, and April, 1844, so as to gull the people a little longer, and, strange as it may seem, nevertheless true, hundreds committed suicide, and as many became deranged, and many families were put in a deplorable way by this Yankee hoax. Others were going about preaching temperance, trumpeting forth their own degradation, singing ridiculous songs, selling their song books and pamphlets, relating stories about the greatest blackguards in the country, all for the good of the community and to sell their books and pamphlets at enormous prices, besides a slip collection now and then in a crowded house, which money they would smilingly pocket and sneak off without

paying for services. Weinbrenner promulgated a doctrine that unless the women (he cared very little about the men) were doused head over heels in the water by him, or his cronies, they were gone geese. So it happened that Millerism, Weinbrennerism and Yankee Temperance (thumbugs) were all sprung on the people at one time, set some of the people reeling and made them crazier than ever rum did, and all for the good of the people.

Now the 23d of April is past, and nothing unusual took place. But on the 27th we had a severe thunder-storm between 1 and 2 o'clock in the afternoon; the wind blew, rained and hailed—nothing unusual for this time of the year. The storm lasted only ten minutes; the sun resumed its former brightness, and shone on the just and unjust.

June 2—All vegetables frozen. Water standing out had thin ice.

June 11—Thirty degrees colder than the tenth.

July 3—Twenty degrees colder than the 2d.

1844.

Fruit very plentiful. Cider sold for 50 cents, 75 cents and \$1 a barrel. Picked apples sold for 10 cents to 12½ cents per bushel.

May 6—A riot at Kensington, Philadelphia county; very serious. The native Americans and Irish shot each other. Burned churches and houses. The Sheriff's men refused to obey orders. Many children were trampled to death. Word was sent to Harrisburg to Gov. Porter, requesting troops.

May 9—The Governor passed through Lancaster on his way to Philadelphia. The Governor ordered 100 volunteers to follow him.

May 11—The volunteers returned.

July 18—^{afternoon, a portion of} 1845.

May 31—Sold Farmers' Bank stock at \$49 and ten shares at \$49.12½.

July 11—Served notice to the subscribers to the cotton factory to be built in Lancaster; capital, \$100,000.

1846.

January 19—City lamps on East Orange street; one at A. Armstrong's, Dr. John L. Atlee's, Mr. Penrose's, at Mr. Hurford's and one at Mr. M. Zahm's, to light East Orange street, between North Queen and Shippen streets, the expenses to be paid by contributions.

March 15—Floods in Susquehanna River; part of the Harrisburg bridge washed away; the river higher than it has been for fifty or sixty years.

April 11—Mr. Gemperling's barn and stable were set on fire; the alley south of East King street; seven barns and stables east and west were burned. A stranger who was standing in the crowd was pushed down and robbed of \$1,000. Patrolling commenced to-night in Lancaster.

November 23—Sold 107 shares of Lancaster Bank stock \$33.25; \$35.75.

November 29—To-day the Moravians had jubilee, it being one hundred years since their congregation was first started in Lancaster.

November 30.—Supreme Court held in Lancaster.

1847.

April 21—This evening we had illuminations in Lancaster to celebrate the great victories of the Americans at Buena Vista, Vera Cruz, by Gen. Taylor and Gen. Scott.

June 15—Sold Farmers' Bank stock at \$50.06½; \$50.12; \$50.25. The first stock that has sold above par for several years.

July 19—This afternoon a portion of the arch on Water street caved in. A section caved in some time ago during a heavy rain.

October 20—Attempt to set fire to the cotton factory.

1848.

March 21—Sold bank stock. Farmers sold at \$49.12½ to \$49.87½, and Lancaster, \$38.

June 13.—Town meeting to appoint committee to collect money for the Allentown sufferers, who lost all by fire, which destroyed one-fourth of the city.

July—"Loco-foco" meeting at the Court House. Addresses by Sam. Houston and Kauffman, both from Texas.

August 29.—The Conestoga so low the city pumps can't work. The reservoir empty and the factory can't be supplied, but are pumping from the run. Work only every second or third day. The Water Committee refuse water for building.

September 6—Water supply shut off.

September 18—Water turned on again.

November 5—This morning before six o'clock the stack at the new cotton factory on the west side of South Prince street fell to the ground. It was about 100 feet high, supposed to contain 1,000 bricks for every foot.

November 7—Election for President. The number of votes was 2,000. This was the first Presidential election held on the same day throughout the United States.

November 22—City meeting at the Court House in reference to lighting the city with gas.

December 23—The tavern at the northwest corner of North Queen and

Orange streets sold at public sale, and bought by Jacob Danner for \$11,160. It was the property of Phil. Reitzel and Michael McGrann. I made this entry in case it is sold again during my life to see how much less it will bring.

1849.

August 10—President Taylor arrived in Lancaster this evening. He was escorted to Kendig's Hotel, Centre Square. The Court House was illuminated with 336 sperm candles. The President was accompanied by Governor Johnson and members of his cabinet.

August 11—President Taylor was in town until noon. He received the ladies from 8 to 9 o'clock and the gentlemen from 9 to 10 o'clock.

Robert Bell's name stands alone in representing the Philadelphia printer, while that of Bell is as dead as the world's indifference can make it." We shall endeavor to bring his work back to life.

Bell practically began his publishing career where the famous Franklin left off, and from then on really issued and sold a larger variety if not more books than his philosophic predecessor. The period of his activity ranges from 1768 to 1794. Bell was in Philadelphia prior to the former date, probably as early as 1765. He was a reported Bookseller, and supposed by one authority to have been a partner of George Alexander Stevens, coming

In Philadelphia in 1760. The exact date of Bell's nativity is that city is unknown and his date of death is also unknown.

ROBERT BELL, PRINTER

Edward Shippen

Not quite two years since, in the spring of 1906, the writer came across an item relating to Robert Bell, a Quaker city printer of the later Colonial period, whose brilliancy of career was unearthed in detail mainly through a business deal we noted he was to have had with Lancaster's prominent townsman, Edward Shippen; and there is so much of general as well as some local interest attached to Bell's life that it is now and here presented to our Historical Society as a valuable addition to eastern Pennsylvania history.

Some one whose identity has not been revealed states, in the Master Printer, that "Robert Bell's very name is forgotten, and only recalled when one of his publications is found in the auction room or on the second-hand stalls. To the world at large Franklin's name stands alone in representing the Philadelphia printer, while that of Bell is as dead as the world's indifference can make it." We shall endeavor to bring his work back to life.

Bell practically began his publishing career where the famous Franklin left off, and from then on really issued and sold a larger variety if not more books than his philosophic predecessor. The period of his activity ranges from 1768 to 1784. Bell was in Philadelphia prior to the former date, probably as early as 1765. He was a reputed Scotchman, and supposed by one authority to have been a partner of George Alexander Stevens, coming

to Philadelphia in 1766. The correct time of Bell's entrance to that city is unknown, and has been given from 1765 to 1768, the latter date obtaining some preference.

Edward Shippen's Early Letter.

To aid in establishing Bell's advent in America we find Edward Shippen, writing from Lancaster, at Christmas, 1765, desires his correspondent in Philadelphia to seek for "a small octavo entitled 'Instruction for the Education of Daughters,'" and requested that "Mr. Yeates inquire among the gentlemen of St. Andrew's Club for it, either in French or English; if he fails in these searches, I must beg the favor of Mr. Luman or Mr. Bell to send to Scotland for it."

If the foregoing letter alludes to Robert Bell, or another of that surname, one John Bell, "is not a serious matter," says a writer; yet when the former's "importance as a printer and patriot is considered, any facts or data regarding his career are desirable to be known."

Even lately, after most of this paper was written, the Public Ledger answering a correspondent, states that "Bell is said to have been the first to establish a circulating library here (Philadelphia), if not in this country;" and that two library companies were organized in 1765, "both in existence before Bell came to this country. Bell never was a librarian." Be this as it may, we have from another source, prepared a few years ago, that "Bell must have been a very busy man, as he set up a subscription library in addition to his other occupations, waifs from which, bearing the label of its founder, are occasionally found. The wording of this label reveals his originality. Indeed, his origi-

nal vein of wit and genius, as well as his patriotic ardor in behalf of his adopted country, are freely shown in nearly everything he touched, and particularly in his advertisements and prospectuses." His re-publication in 1774 of Blackstone's "Commentaries," of which there are five volume editions, was a stupendous project for a struggling colonial printer, and it is gratifying to discover a big list of subscribers to at least 1,500 copies (some of which reached Lancaster), testifying to its appreciation.

Bell Introduces Cheap Editions.

Quoting a portion of Hildeburn's preface to "Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania," it states that "Robert Bell, with perhaps the exception of Andrew Stewart—who reprinted a number of popular English works—was the first to present in home-made garb a judicious selection from every class of literature current in England His success in offering cheap editions soon compelled his fellow-printers to enter the same field." This shows that he was far in advance of his time; and this trait he followed in all his advertising methods of book printing, publishing and selling.

Taking as a starting point the year 1768, one of the earliest of Bell's curious advertisements appeared in Franklin's Pennsylvania Gazette, of April 14, thus:

"Any person possessed of libraries or parcels books may have ready Money, according to their Value, by applying to Robert Bell, Bookseller and Auctioneer, at Mr. James Emerson's, the Sugar Loaf, between the River and Front street, in Market street: Or, if the Possessors choose to take the Chance of a public Sale, they may have them exhibited, with a

regular Catalogue, by Auction, at the Uppermost Vendue-House, in Second street, near Vine street, where the intrinsic merit and excellence of each book shall be rationally expiated upon, with Truth and Propriety; also the extrinsic or original Value Properly demonstrated for the satisfaction of Sellers and Buyers."

During 1768 Bell began his buoyant business as a publisher in earnest. In July of that year he uses the Pennsylvania Chronicle to advertise his first publication, "which introduced to the people of this continent the first American edition of two works of those duo immortals and staunch friends, Doctor Samuel Johnson and Oliver Goldsmith: 'The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia, etc.,' and 'The Traveller, or a Prospect of Society, etc.'"

Starts a Printing Place.

Late in 1769, or early in 1770, Bell established a press in the building occupied shortly before by the Union Library, next door to St. Paul's Church, in Third street. He also soon became noted as an auctioneer of books, and on one occasion, February 7, 1774, he put himself on record as a "Professor of Book Auctioneering." His numerous catalogues would astonish our latter-day Lancaster antiquarians, Messrs. Auxer, Steigerwalt and others. In 1770 he issued a catalogue of second-hand Greek and Latin Classics, and on October 25 of that year another catalogue was printed; followed by others in 1773 (announcing fifteen hundred new and old volumes).

In support of a petition to the Assembly to authorize book auctions in Philadelphia, he printed this memorandum, January 17, 1774: "The more

Books are sold, the more will be sold, is an established Truth, well known to every liberal Reader, and to every Bookseller of experience." Bell always made a sale for his books when the demand for them fell short; and he not alone petitioned the General Assembly to aid him in his book auctions, but he journeyed to other States "to make things go."

Catalogues Galore.

His other known catalogues of books bear the dates of 1774, 1777, 1778 (three lists, one being a "Collection of Sentimental Food," and another consisting of 2,000 volumes in Bell's Circulating Library); 1780, 1782, 1783 (2,421 works and 21 maps for sale), and 1784 (the last being several hundred new and old medical works).

Hildeburn gives a joint Lancaster and Philadelphia publication and printing thus: "The Chronicle of the Kings of England from the Reign of William the Conqueror (first King of England) down to his present Majesty, George the Third. By Nathan Ben-Saddi. Lancaster: Stewart Herbert, jun., 1775. Philadelphia: Robert Bell and Benjamin Towne, 1775." Who of our local historians knows anything of this Lancaster publisher?

Prints Many Patriotic Pamphlets.

Robert Bell printed many pamphlets and books prior to and during the Revolution, in which his patriotic sentiments are glowingly set forth. No printer in America could have done more; he was indefatigable. He was especially busy in 1776, when he printed a series of letters to the Legislature on "American Independence." A second edition of "Plain Truth" was partly printed on coarse blue paper,

which, as Bell stated, "constituted the law of necessity," and he added, further, "The Patriot surmounteth every difficulty," etc.

"Common Sense," by Thomas Paine, printed in several editions by Bell, became known the world over, and consumed much paper. One of these editions was also printed by Francis Bailey, in King's Street, Lancaster, during the same year. Bell himself placed "Large Additions to Common Sense," thus keeping his printing establishment fully occupied.

The first American editions of Thomson's "Seasons" and of Milton's "Paradise Lost" were both issued by our subject in 1777. A large number of classics were introduced from Europe by Bell, printed at his own press, including "Aesop's Fables," "Robinson Crusoe," the "Letters of Lord Chesterfield," Voltaire's "Romances," Sheridan's "School for Scandal," and others.

His Numerous Publications.

We have personally copied fully 150 distinct titles of books and pamphlets printed by Bell, and they embrace every subject imaginable, from religion to liberalism, medicine to mystery, science to sentiment, politics to pleasure; and, were it no digression on this occasion, many of these titles would be edifying to present-day book-lovers. His penchant for publicity is shown in a pert pamphlet printed by him in 1778 on "The humble confession, declaration, recantation and apology of Benjamin Towne, Printer, in Philadelphia."

Among the "upper ten" in Lancaster, after the Revolution, representing what might be termed the "four hundred," there were some fastidious book-buyers, and these no doubt ob-

tained their quota of Bell's imprints, as Philadelphia was a point of constant change and barter for the well-to-do. Bell kept in touch with these desirable people in all the nearby towns of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Contemporary Philadelphia and Lancaster Printers.

During Bell's time, or a decade before, to about 1785, there were a host of other printers in Philadelphia, some of whom achieved more general fame than he did. The list includes: B. Franklin, David Hall, B. Towne, James Chatten, Anthony Arbruster, Christopher Sauer (spelled three ways), Henry Miller, John Dunlap, Styner & Cist, Jos. Crukshank, Rob't. Aitkin, Francis Bailey, James Humphreys, Jr., David C. Claypole and Thos. Bradford.

In the town of Lancaster, with a population of about 2,000 at the same time, we find almost as many printers who were particularly interested in producing German books, pamphlets and newspapers: James Chalten, 1751; Henry Miller, 1752; S. Holland, 1753; Francis Bailey, 1774-84; Matthias Bartgis, 1776-77; Theophilus Cossart, 1778-82; Jacob Bailey, 1784; and others a few years later. F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt. D., particularizes on these industrious individuals in his prolific paper published in our society's pamphlet, January 1, 1904.

Bell's Demise in the South.

Robert Bell's last days saw him leave Pennsylvania almost with as little ceremony and record of the circumstances as when he first arrived in Philadelphia from Scotland. One chronicler tells us that "he continued to the end his auctions, his printing

and bookselling. In 1784 he visited Richmond upon business and died there September 23." The Ledger, under recent date, says "Bell went South on a business trip, not to peddle his books, as one writer notes, but to sell his books to booksellers in other towns. In some of the larger towns, such as in the city of Charlestown, Bell at times would auction off parts of his stock, but he was in no sense a peddler. While on this trip he fell ill at Richmond, Va., and died there on September 16, 1784."

One or the other of these dates of Bell's demise is surely wrong, like some other bits of unverified information regarding his vending of books, etc. We should also state that, out of the correspondence carried on by the writer at intervals for over twenty months, it has been impossible to locate the final resting-place of one of the most persevering and patriotic book printers ever having dwelt in the shade of "Fenn's woods." All honor to his pristine public service!

quots at this place, & direct their continuation here.

I beg leave to represent to Council that before the arrival of the convention Troops, there were near eight hundred Prisoners of War at this Post, stationed at the Barracks within the Picquet, under my direction, and among them a great number sick, of a putrid fever, which gave great uneasiness to the inhabitants, as there was the greatest probability of its being communicated to the Town.

Upon the arrival of the British of the convention Prisoners it was expected that the Guard who came with them, would have proceeded on with them to the Eastward, but as they were hastily assembled at York Town

& were determined to return, I advised Major Bailey (who had charge of them before Col. Wood's arrival) to secure

A REVOLUTIONARY LETTER

The following is a copy of a letter written in 1781 by William Augustus Atlee, at that time commissary of British prisoners held in Lancaster, to Joseph Reed, president of the Provincial Council, acquainting him with conditions in Lancaster in reference to the prisoners. The original letter was purchased in Philadelphia by the president of the Society, Mr. George Steinman:

Lancaster, ye 13th of June, 1781.

D. Sir:

Colonel Wood just now honored me with the perusal of your letter to him of the 9th instant, wherein I observe the Council have had information that the Prisoners of the Convention Troops lately arrived from Virginia, may be accommodated within the Picquets at this place, & direct their continuing here.

I beg leave to represent to Council that before the arrival of the convention Troops, there were near eight hundred Prisoners of War at this Port stationed at the Barracks within the Picquets, under my direction, and among them a great number sick of a putrid fever, which gave great uneasiness to the inhabitants, as there was the greatest probability of its being communicated to the Town.

Upon the arrival of the British of the convention Prisoners it was expected that the Guard who came with them, would have proceeded on with them to the Eastward, but as they were hastily assembled at York Town

& were determined to return, I advised Major Bailey (who had charge of them before Col. Wood's arrival) to secure them under the Guard then on duty here. We accordingly turned a number of them into the Barracks, but as they would not contain the whole (there being near five hundred women and children among them) the married people were permitted to encamp on the common outside of the Stockade, where they still remain (except a few who have taken shelter in an old continental Stable) but badly sheltered from the weather.

As we expected their stay would be short, we apprehended no inconvenience from their being crowded in the Barracks for a few days; but I can assure Council that, notwithstanding all the care and attention of several of the Physicians and Surgeons of the convention Army, who continued here till within these few days, and were so kind as to advise with and assist Doctor Houston, who attends the Prisoners here under my direction, this fatal disorder has gained ground & there are now at least onehundred and fifty sick in these greatly crowded Barracks, without a prospect of its abating. The Rooms which we had before set apart for Hospital Rooms cannot contain them. They are scattered throughout the Barracks, & I knew not a house in or near the Town which could be had for a hospital.

I cannot think the Gentleman who gave the information to Council could have had an idea that there were near two thousand Men, Women & Children among the Prisoners of War and Convention at this place, when he gave his opinion to Council that they might be accomodated in the Barracks here, nor could he have known of their unhealthy situation.

I should think half that number of healthy persons would fill them sufficiently at any time; but in their present sickly state I could wish even that number reduced.

My duty as Commissary of Prisoners obliges me to trouble Council on this occasion. It is necessary, as well for the safety of the Inhabitants as the security of the Prisoners, that they should be kept compact and as free from disorders as possible. The Barracks here can not contain the whole of the convention Troops with their Family; and the Prisoners of War before stationed here. The Gaol is filled with Sailors & others, and it is very difficult to prevent those from stragling who are encamped outside the Stockades.

Permit me also to mention, Sir, that in anticipation of the Convention Troops being removed from hence, I yesterday received from Reading from Col. Wood's party between fifty and sixty Prisoners of War (not of the convention Troops, Tho. bro't with him from Virginia) in exchange for which I was to have given him about the like number of convention Troops who had stragled from their quarters in Virginia and been confined here before his arrival. And I have this minute Letters by an officer mentioning the approach of another Party from Fishkile, lately taken, & who at the particular request of his Excellency, Genl. Washington, are ordered to be kept closely confined, & I hardly know where to place them, tho' the Gaol must be their Station.

I am, Sir,

With the highest respect.

Your most obed't Serv't,

WILL A. ATLEE.

His Excellency Joseph Reed, Esquire.

On motion of F. R. Diffenderffer, a committee was appointed to draft a tribute of respect upon the death of

Minutes of the May Meeting

since last meeting.

President Steinman presided.

named Lancaster, Pa., May 1, 1908.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this (Friday) evening in the Society's headquarters, in the Smith Library Building, on North Duke street. Several very interesting papers were read, and the session was a most profitable one for those present. President Steinman presided.

Henry N. Howell, of this city, and Ira R. Kraybill, of Mount Joy, who were proposed for membership at the last meeting, were duly elected. The names of Charles A. Burrows, of Lititz, and Miss Susan McIlvaine, of this city, were proposed for membership, and, under the rules, will be acted upon at the next meeting.

Librarian Sener announced the following donations to the Society's collection during the past month:

Pamphlet address on D. W. Abercrombie, LL.D.; Public Roads and Road Making, by Hon. W. U. Hensel; Account Book of the National House, Lancaster, from 1845 to 1849, from W. T. Brown, Esq.; Annals of Iowa, for April, 1908; German-American Annals for March and April, 1908; Pennsylvania German Magazine for April, 1908; several exchanges; Lancaster Street Lottery, from Mr. F. H. Calder.

Under the head of new business, Mr. George F. K. Erisman brought up the question of the summer outing of the society, and on his motion the matter was referred to the Executive Committee, with the recommendation that Manheim be selected as the place to hold the gathering.

On motion of F. R. Diffenderffer, a committee was appointed to draft a tribute of respect upon the death of Samuel Evans, Esq., one of the most valued members of the society, and since its organization one of its Vice Presidents. President Steinman named the following as the committee: F. R. Diffenderffer, S. M. Sener and A. K. Hostetter.

The question of filling the vacancy in the Vice Presidency caused by the death of Mr. Samuel Evans was raised by Miss Clark, and on her motion there was a unanimous recommendation that Mr. F. R. Diffenderffer be chosen to succeed Mr. Evans.

The first paper of the evening was prepared by Miss Mary Goodell and read by Librarian S. M. Sener. It embraced notes from the diary kept by Matthias Zahm, who was a familiar figure on the streets of Lancaster a half-century ago. "Grandpap" Zahm, as he was known by almost every one, was crier of the Lancaster Courts for forty years. He was a close observer of men and things, and his diary, in consequence, is full of very entertaining notes of occurrences and persons in Lancaster county during a portion of his lifetime. The diary embraces the years from 1835 to 1849. Several notes of timely interest are herewith produced. Under date of June 2, 1843, he says: "All vegetables frozen; water standing out had thin ice;" June 11, "thirty degrees colder than the 10th." On July 25, 1838, he chronicled this interesting fact: "Butter sold on our market this morning at 25 cents. Outrageous!" The following note, under date of December 23, 1849, may be of interest to real estate men, as showing the value of property in the centre of the city at that period: "The tavern, northwest

corner of North Queen and Orange streets, sold at public sale. Bought by Jacob Danner for \$11,160. It was the property of Philip Reitzel and Michael McGrann. I made this entry in case it is sold again during my lifetime to see how much less it would bring." Our early chronicler never dreamed that some day this property, which he feared would depreciate in value, would sell for \$60,000, that being the price paid by the Y. M. C. A. for the Shober property.

The next paper read was prepared by Hon. W. U. Hensel, who used as his subject the old Ellmaker law office, which was recently demolished, to provide room for a modern office building. A search through the attic of the ancient structure revealed many interesting and valuable papers, on which Mr. Hensel's article was based. In the absence of the author, the paper was read by Mrs. A. K. Hostetter.

Another very entertaining paper was read by Mr. D. B. Landis, its author, who took for his subject "Robert Bell," a Colonial printer, of Philadelphia, many of whose books were sold here. It was stated that he was the first person to establish a circulating library in Philadelphia. In his business dealings he came in contact with a number of Lancastrians, among them Edward Shippen.

A Revolutionary letter, written in 1781, by William Augustus Atlee, that time commissary in charge of the British troops held prisoners at Lancaster, to Joseph Reed, Secretary of the Provincial Council, was read. It stated there were over 2,000 prisoners confined at Lancaster at that time. The letter, which is of great value, was recently purchased in Philadelphia by President Steinman.

The thanks of the society were extended to the writers of the several papers, which were ordered to be published in the Society's proceedings.

The meeting then adjourned.

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JUNE 6, 1906.

"History herself, as seen in her old records."

THE GREAT CONESTOGA ROAD IN MEMORIAM

NOTES OF THE JUNE MEETING

VOL. XII. NO. 6

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW EDITION
1888

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

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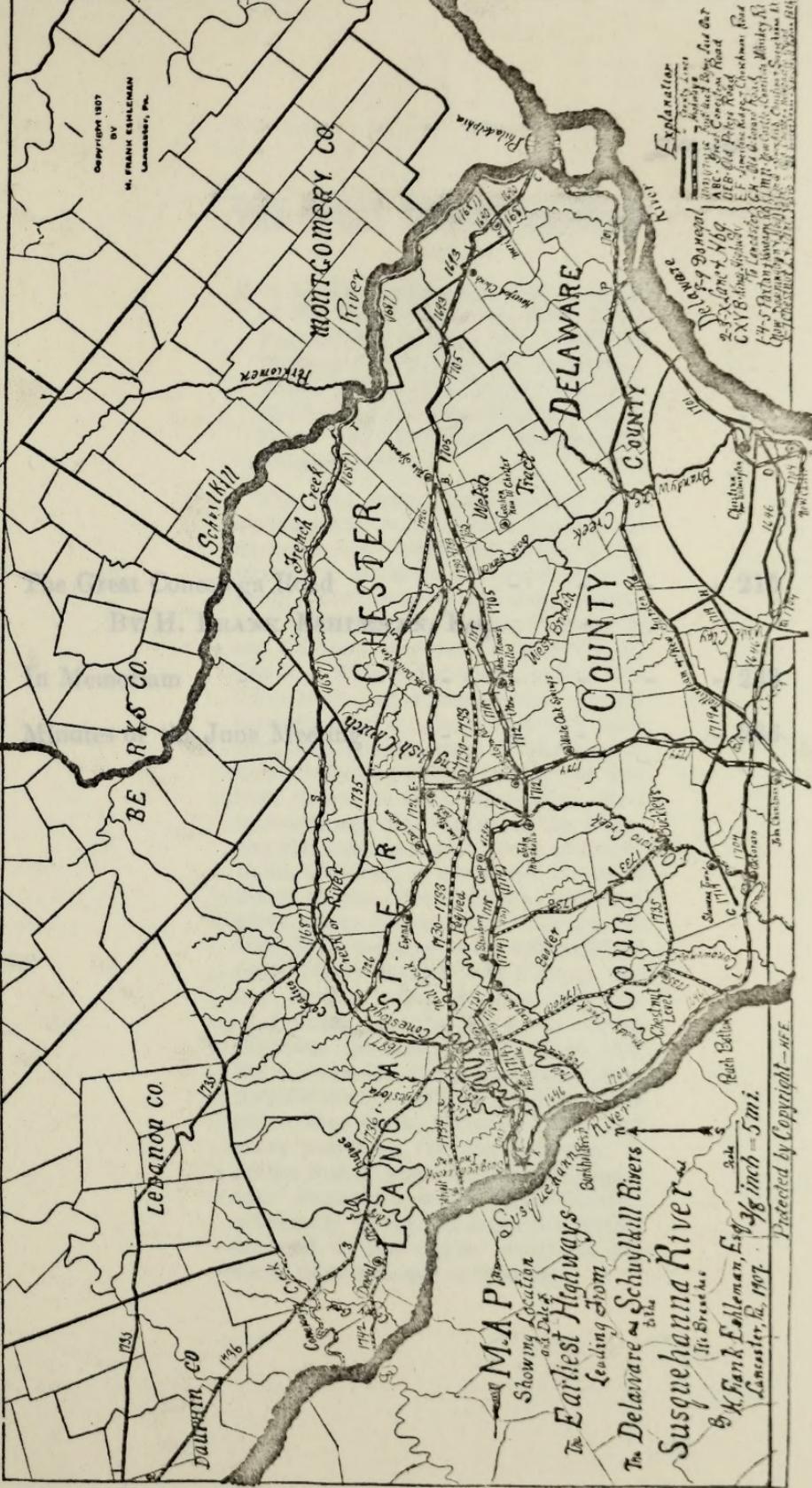
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REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
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B. H. Frank Eckelman, Esq.,
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THE GREAT CONESTOGA ROAD

Part I.—The Laying Out and Opening
of the Great Conestoga Road from
Philadelphia to Rock Hill (now
Porterthwaite's), on the Conestoga
River, 1683 to 1734; (also, Auxiliary
Roads into the Susquehanna Valley
from the Delaware Settlement,
enumerated).

The first great road leading from
Philadelphia to the West, having the
Susquehanna Valley and River as the
natural occupied the 1683 ground.

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Conestoga and variations, which was
then known as John Minot's. This
is practically the course of the Phila-
delphia road to-day. West of Chris-
tiana, however, it continued its trend
south of the Pennsylvania Railroad,
after going through the turn to the
"Gap hills," passing in its course Sint-
berg, Henry Holmes' on Faggs, the
Big Spring, what is now the Run-
ning Water (a little north of West
Willow), the Long Lane, Rock Hill
Ferry over the Conestoga (near Port-
erthwaite's, now Fehl's residence), and
on to Blue Rock, Wright's Ferry and
other points on the Susquehanna. It
seems that it made a considerable de-
tour southward near West Chester,
practically going through the neighbor-
hood of that place which in the
early days was called Coshen.

1683.—The earliest authentic steps seem to have been taken about 1687, and in Vol. I. of the *Colonial Records*,

THE GREAT CONESTOGA ROAD

Part I.—The Laying Out and Opening of the Great Conestoga Road From Philadelphia to Rock Hill (formerly Postlethwaite's), on the Conestoga River, 1683 to 1734: (Also, Auxiliary Roads Into the Susquehanna Valley From the Delaware Settlements, Enumerated).

The first great road leading from Philadelphia to the West, having the Susquehanna Valley and River as the objective, occupied the same ground as, or a strip of ground closely parallel with, that occupied by the Pennsylvania Railroad, at least to the Octoraro Creek. This early road, leaving the little town of Philadelphia, passed through Merion, Haverford and Radnor; also what is now Downingtown, Coatesville and Christiana, which was then known as John Minshall's. This is practically the course of the Philadelphia road to-day. West of Christiana, however, it continued its trend south of the Pennsylvania Railroad, after going through the turn in the "Gap hills," passing in its course Strasburg, Henry Haines' on Pequea, the Big Springs, what is now the Running Pump (a little north of West Willow), the Long Lane, Rock Hill Ferry over the Conestoga (near Postlethwaite's, now Fehl's residence), and on to Blue Rock, Wright's Ferry and other points on the Susquehanna. It seems that it made a considerable detour southward near West Chester, practically going through the neighborhood of that place which in the early days was called Goshen.

1683—The earliest authentic steps seem to have been taken about 1687, and in Vol. 1, of the Colonial Records, it is set forth at page 209, under date of August, 1687: "Upon ye reading ye Petition of ye inhabitants of Rodnor (Radnor), complayning yt part of ye road which leades thence to the ferry of Philadelphia is ffenced in & more likely to be, it was ordered yt John Bevan, Henry Lewis, David Meredith, John Evans, Barnabas Wilcox and Thomas Duckett, meet within fourteen days, to view or agree upon, as conveniently as may be, a road from ye place aforesaid to ye ferry." This is dated 1687, but it is likely that the road was in existence earlier up to Radnor. It is marked on the map, beginning at the letter "C," and it strikes out in a northwesterly direction.

1683-7—Additional light is thrown on this in "Merion in the Welsh Tract," by Thomas Allen Glenn, a valuable book published by him in 1896. He says that the townships of Haverford and Radnor were settled by Cymric Quakers in 1682, and quotes Proud, saying that the Welsh took up the said two townships and also Merion, and a little later settled three townships more, Newtown, Goshen and Uwchland (See page 38). He says that the first settlement in Merion was made by Dr. Edward Reese and a few others; that Haverford and Radnor were settled a little later, and that an ancient lime stone on the edge of Haverford College grounds near the spring house and near Bryn Mawr is marked 1683, and that on the Gulf Road there is a lime stone with Penn's "Coat of Arms" on it, north of Bryn Mawr (See page 50). At page 51 he says that these Welsh (or Cymric Quakers) at their own private ex-

pense built good roads, which were marked by Penn's "Coat of Arms," and he sets forth a petition in which they describe themselves as "descended from the ancient Britains." There were several roads striking westwardly and northwestwardly a short distance from Philadelphia very early. The old Gulf road, he says at page 364, from Philadelphia to the Gulf Mill at Upper Merion passed by the Merion meeting-house at a very early date, likely before 1687; and at page 367 he says: "The townships of Haverford and Radnor were to be reached from Philadelphia by Haverford street, perfected in 1683 and Radnor street the same year;" that "Haverford and Darby road was laid out in 1687, and the old Haverford road to John Bevan's plantation in 1704." He says also that the road leading toward Merion from Radnor was surveyed in 1694; and at page 364 that the Merion meeting house was built in 1695, but that the first Old Gulf Road was laid out in 1683. He says, at page 367, that entering Merion from Blockley this old road extended toward what is now called Liberty Mill and thence by a ford over the creek to "Harriton" and Bryn Mawr. (Bryn Mawr is on the Pennsylvania railroad, and one of the stations.) He says, also, at page 368, that what we are accustomed to call Montgomery avenue or Lancaster Road, extending from High street (now Market street) to Lancaster, was formerly known as the old Conestoga Road, but was not confirmed until 1721, and then only to Brandywine. This shows that the eastern end of the Old Conestoga Road, and may be several branches of it forming what is like a delta, was or were laid out as early as 1683 to 1690, and that

they all met in the neighborhood of Haverford or Bryn Mawr.

1693—The next authenticated step is set forth in Vol. 1 of the Colonial Records at page 396, as follows, under the date of December 19, 1693: "Upon the petition of the inhabitants of Radnor, requesting a road to be laid out from the upper part of the said township of Radnor to Merion Ford; and of Andrew Robeson and Lawrence Cock, Esquires, requesting a confirmation of the road that now is from Merion Ford to Philadelphia, and that it came into the third street of the said town. Ordered that a warrant from the Lieutenant Governor be directed to the Survey General to lay out the roads desired, and that the same may be confirmed accordingly, and that a return thereof be made into the Secretary's Office, in order to a final confirmation of the same."

This will readily be seen to be an extension of the road leading to Radnor, up towards Haverford Meeting House or Church. The completion of the road thus asked for extends the highway about fifteen miles from Philadelphia; and the course lies in a general way along the same line on which the Pennsylvania Railroad now lies.

1696—Interest in the Susquehanna River and its valley was first very early shown by the ancient Welsh of Haverford and the adjoining townships. At pages 53, 54 and 55 Mr. Glenn, the same author which I have quoted, says that a considerable number of these Merion, Haverford and Radnor residents subscribed to the Susquehanna Land Company, and he gives the names and the amounts which they subscribed, which amounts are large and show how they were developing the country westward

from Philadelphia. The account is headed, "An Account of Those Who Subscribed for the Purchase of Lands on the Susquehanna River in 1696." This account is found in the "Penn Papers" of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and it shows that they subscribed for several thousand acres.

1701—It seems that as early as 1701 there was a road to Susquehanna, because in Vol. 1 of the Penn-Logan Correspondence, page 43, Isaac Norris wrote to David Zachary under the date of June 21, 1701, saying: "I have just come from Susquehanna, where I have been to meet the Governor. We had a round about journey and pretty well traversed the wilderness." It is likely that this course is north of the Conestoga Road, and I shall refer to it later.

1703—The next stage in building a road toward Susquehanna is found in Vol. 2 of the Colonial Records, page 111, and at this page first appears the name of Susquehanna Road. On the 16th of November, 1703, "A petition by Humphrey Ellis, Daniel Lewis, and 58 other subscribers, being the principal inhabitants of ye Welch Tract (which included Goshen township, now the region of West Chester and the surrounding country), was read, showing that most of the petitioners, being purchasers and possessors of divers of land and divers of them inhabitants in and about the Township of Goshen in ye said tract, had now no lawful road laid out by due authority, leading from ye Township of Goshen to Philadelphia, their chief and present market, by reason of which being greatly incommoded; they therefore pray, that because a road laid out as aforesaid may be of general service to ye Countrey, by being ye nearest and directest way to

the upper settlements upon the Brandywine, & may conveniently be continued to the Susquehanna, this board would be pleased to order that such a road may be laid out as aforesaid, leading from ye said Township, through the Township of Haverford, by Haverford Meeting House, to ye City of Philadelphia.

"Upon ye consideration of which it was further represented, that there had been already two roads laid out or proposed, in the County of Chester, to ye said Township, but the persons concerned not being able to agree about the said roads, & neither of them being laid out by a sufficient authority for a General or a Great Road through the whole Countrey; It now lies before this Board, to order and settle ye same, upon all which:

"Tis ordered that Samuel Richardson, David Lloyd, Rowland Ellis, William Howel, William Jenkias, and Richard Thomas, all inhabitants of ye County of Philadelphia, do view the said two roads as now laid out or intended in ye County of Chester, and viewing also the ground between the said two Roads and Philadelphia, and Between Goshen and Brandywine, that ye said persons do forthwith lay out and survey one direct road of fifty foot in breadth, as convenient in all respects, as may be both to the inhabitants and to ye settlers of ye interjacent lands and Travellers, leading from William Powel's Ferry on the Schuylkill, and passing by Haverford Meeting-house to ye principal part of Goshen Township, and thence continued in a direct course to ye upper settlements on the Brandywine and do return the same with all its courses to this Board, in order to a confirmation."

1704—What was done in the building of the road toward the Susquehanna River, west of Haverford Church, prior to 1705, can not be ascertained; but that there was a road known as the Susquehanna Road between these points before 1705 is shown in Volume 1, Part 2, of the Notes of Assembly, page 26, from which we gather that it must have been in more or less general use before 1704, because in that year a petition was filed in the Assembly by the inhabitants of Radnor “about a road lately laid out from John Powel’s Ferry (which is Callowhill street) to the Susquehanna Road at the northeast branch of Brandywine Creek; which petition was read and ordered to be read again and considered along with Thomas Godfrey’s petition to the last Assembly on like account.” In this it will be observed that the petitioners speak here about a road lately laid out, leading to the “Susquehanna Road at northeast branch of Brandywine,” which inferentially asserts that there was a Susquehanna Road at that time to Brandywine, at least, and it is likely that the petitioners who in 1703 asked for a road to the Brandywine had already been using such a road and now desired it to be laid out according to law.

1705—On the 23d of June, 1705, the viewers appointed to lay out a road to Brandywine made a return to Council, which may be found in Volume 2 of the Colonial Records, page 203. The survey of courses and distances is not given, but they tell in a general way that they “laid it out from Philadelphia to the principal part of Goshen, fifty feet wide, passing Haverford meeting-house, and thence in a direct course to the Upper Settlements on Brandywine with all its courses;

and the Council thereupon approved it and ordered it to be laid out and graded, so that it should be a free and lawful road or highway, and be used as such for the future by all the Queen's subjects, as they shall have occasion."

It seems that the road was not entirely satisfactory, because on the 30th of November, 1706, there was a petition by many "inhabitants of Merion and the upper part of the Welch tract, 98 in number, requesting a better accommodation, and that a road should be laid out from Merion Meeting-house to Powel's Ferry, and from thence following in to the road leading to Philadelphia."

1711—The return made in 1705 states that the road was laid out "to the upper settlements on Brandywine." It is not clear whether these upper settlements on Brandywine were on the east branch or the west branch, and whether the end of the road was in the neighborhood of Downingtown or Coatesville—these towns being respectively on the east and west branch of Brandywine. Different statements in the Colonial Records seem to indicate that the east branch was the limit, but they also state that the road extended to Thomas Moore's (3 Col. Rec., page 43). However, among the Quarter Sessions records at West Chester, in Volume 1 of the "Original Road Papers," page 45 (a method of old road records in Chester county perfected by Gilbert Cope, Esq.), there is a "return of a road from Thomas Moore's, on the west branch of Brandywine, in the great valley, to John Miller's, and to the New Castle County line," John Miller's being on the Nottingham road. And also in the same Court papers, under September sessions, 1725, there is an order about not

clearing a certain road "leading out from Conestoga to the western branch of Brandywine." This, I believe, is the same terminus mentioned in Volume 3 of the Colonial Records, page 43, as a road petitioned for, in 1718, from Conestoga "to Thomas Moore's on Brandywine," which seems to fix Thomas Moore's as being on the west branch of Brandywine.

1712—But there is additional evidence that as early as 1711 a recognized road extended even westward to the Susquehanna itself. There is no record of any such being laid out; but among the records of the Quarter Sessions Court of Chester county, found in Volume 1 of the "Original Papers," page 50, there is a record that "at a Court held the 27th and 28th of the sixth month, in 1712, a return was made of a certain road, beginning more than half a mile northwest of Peter Taylor's house, at a white oak in the western line of the Welch tract, and thence through land of John Spruce and others to a road from Uwchlan to Philadelphia, meeting the said Uwchlan road forty perches west of Lloyd's bridge, the last mentioned (Uwchlan to Philadelphia Road) being the directest and best road that leads from Philadelphia to the Dutch settlements at Conestoga and Susquehanna, and is far more commodious for travelers, being dry, champion ground, and less injurious in ye said Valley than ye other road heretofore made use of." Here we have, in 1712, a statement that there was in use at that time a road leading back to the new Dutch settlements on Conestoga and Susquehanna; and therefore on the map I have marked the date 1712 along certain portions of the great Conestoga road. It was not a laid out road at

least west of Coatesville, but up to Coatesville by this time the great Conestoga road was surely well built.

1714—There is evidence that at this date the Conestoga road was in use from the Conestoga creek to Philadelphia from a point on that creek known as Rock Hill to-day. This evidence is furnished by the records of the Quarter Sessions Court of Lancaster county, in a petition filed there in 1734, which I shall speak of a little later.

1716—Under this date there is another evidence that a road at this time led to Conestoga from Philadelphia. In Vol. 1, of the "Original Papers," p. 73, in the Records of the Quarter Sessions Court of Chester County, under date of 1716, in a road proceeding for a certain road branching out of the King's highway, there occurs the following statement, stating that the road petitioned for joins the Great Road, viz.: "To a bridge on the road that leads from Philadelphia to Conestogoe." And, according to this statement, at this time there was a road leading from Philadelphia to Conestogoe.

1718—From what has already been said it is plain that this road was intended to be a King's highway from Philadelphia to Coatesville, as we remember that by order of Council it was to be laid out 50 feet wide to the upper settlements on Brandywine (2 Colonial Records, page 203). The Council, which corresponded in Penn's Government to the ministry in England or the Senate in our Commonwealth, laid out the King's highways or great roads, and the Quarter Sessions Court laid out the ordinary ones.

1718—Now there follows an effort to make the western end of this road

a King's highway in the year of 1718. In Vol. 3, of the Colonial Records, p. 43, under the date last mentioned, "a petition of several inhabitants of and near Conestoga, setting forth the great necessity of a road to be laid out from Conestogoe to Thomas Moore's and Brandywine, was read; and the Board having taken the said petition into consideration, appoint Isaac Taylor, John Taylor, John Cartilage, Ezekial Harland, Thomas Moore and William Marsh to lay out the said road and make a report thereof to this Board in order to a confirmation." This was filed in Council; but I cannot find that viewers were appointed or that a road was laid out in pursuance of this petition, as there is no record of a return made in the Colonial Records. Besides, if it had been laid out as a King's highway, it would have been laid out fifty feet wide or more. But the roads now on the same ground are narrower than ordinary roads, rather than wider. So it would seem that nothing was done under these proceedings. But, as additional evidence that a road was in full use at this time, it is set down in Volume 3 of Colonial Records, page 92, under the date of 1720, by James Logan, that "he had occasion to go towards the farther end of the Great Valley on the 'road to Conestoga,' and that at the Governor's desire he did not fail "to proceed to Susquehanna" on that same road. So that we now have a well-known road to the Susquehanna.

1721—Now there seems to be a step to lay out a piece of this road between the Eastern branch of the Brandywine and the Western branch of the Brandywine. A road was in general use between these two points undoubtedly at this time, but to have it formally laid out was desired, and so we find in

the February and May Quarter Sessions Court, 1721, of Chester county, a return of a road from the Western branch of Brandywine Creek to the "Great Road at the plantation of Owen Perkins, Treedefryn township."

1721—In the Quarter Sessions Records of Chester County, Volume 1, of the "Original Road Papers," page 128, under the date of 1721, there is a petition to His Majesty's Justices of the Court of Quarter Sessions then sitting at Chester, stating that the inhabitants about the Western branch of the Brandywine need a good road from there to Philadelphia, and they ask viewers to be appointed to view the ground from the mountains beyond the head of the West branch of the Brandywine, to continue along the barrens "behind Goshen," which road, they say, will be very serviceable to them, "and the new settlers on the plantations to go to Philadelphia." This original petition may easily be seen in West Chester, together with the names of the signers.

1721—In Volume 3 of the Colonial Records, page 142, there is a petition to Council, complaining that the Justices of Chester county ordered a new road to be laid out and cleared "in the highway to Conestoga, which new road departs from the old one at Perkins' house, and, cutting the same again a little above Brandywine, runs all the way through uninhabited and unsettled lands quite up to the Palatine settlements on this side of the Conestogoe;" and they complain that this should be a King's highway, laid out by Council and in a somewhat different place, because the road the Court is about to lay out would discourage several good settlements on the old road. The Council were not satisfied with what the Court had done

and yet did not want to annul the Court's steps without a hearing, and so Council ordered "that the road now and heretofore used from Philadelphia to Conestogoe, through the townships of Merion and Radnor, laid out by authority of the Government as far as Thomas Moore's mill, on Brandywine creek, be deemed the King's highway, and that all orders of the Chester county Court should be hereby superseded."

1725—Under November sessions, 1725, of the Quarter Sessions of Chester County, something of the condition of this Conestoga road at this time is shown to us, for in these records appears the following: "Ordered that the Superintendents of Sadsbury (Township) be fined 20 Shillings unless they clear ye road laid out from Conestoga to ye Western Branch of Brandywine, as far as ye same crosses ye sd Township, and that ye road be cleared by ye 25th of March next." This again leads me to think that Thomas Moore's was on the west branch of Brandywine. In this we see that a great deal of trouble was experienced in making a proper road west of the west branch of Brandywine creek, on up toward Conestoga.

1726—In Volume 3 of the Colonial Records, page 263, under date of 1726, "a petition of divers inhabitants about Pequea in the county of Chester" is set forth, complaining that the Chester County Court order a road be laid out through the Township of Pequea, over hills, rocks and swamps, and half a mile about (around) in the space of three miles, said to be the road which leads from Thomas Moore's toward Donegal, and they pray that the Council would appoint a view on the road, particularly the part through the Township of Pequea.

Viewers were appointed, among them John Wright, Samuel Blunston, John Cartilage. What report they made is not shown. The eastern end of this road was likely in the line of the Great Conestoga road; but the western part deflected off toward the Northwest—toward Donegal.

1729—This is the year in which Lancaster county was formed, and the condition of the Great Conestoga road at this, the time of the birth of our county, was about the same as it was at the date of our last notice. It was now used, but was in an unsatisfactory condition; and it was not confirmed as a King's highway under the petition and proceedings begun in 1718, recorded in Volume 3 of the Colonial Records, page 43. Only a part of it was laid out by order of any Court. Therefore, naturally, there should be proceedings early after the birth of Lancaster county for the perfecting of it, and we will now notice these.

1734—Under this date, in Docket No. 1, of the Quarter Sessions Court of Lancaster county, page 89, is set forth a petition of many of the inhabitants of Lancaster county, setting forth that there had been a public road laid out from Gap to Conestogoe and had been for nearly twenty years past found very convenient for the inhabitants; but the same, not being confirmed by authority, was liable to continual alterations, and is now almost impassable for want of repairs. The petitioners then prayed "that the same be laid out with courses and distances with such alterations as may be necessary from the County line near John Minshall's to Conestogoe, and from thence continued over the Manor to Susquehanna to Blue Rock." Upon this the Court ordered that John

Postlethwaite, Martin Miller, Samuel Taylor, Jacob Cosner, Daniel Ferree and James Jones, or any four of them, "view, and if they see cause, to lay out the same according to the prayer of said petition, and report their proceedings to the next Court." This report was forthwith made on affidavit, and they laid out a road beginning at a marked chestnut tree standing on the west side of Octoraro creek. From there it took a northwesterly direction by courses and distances set out, 756 perches "to the turn of the hills at the Gap;" then it proceeded further westward somewhat southward, 222 perches to Thomas Green's; then almost due west by courses and distances mentioned, 1,526 perches, or nearly five miles, to Edward Dougherty's; then again by courses and distances nearly due west, turning to the north, 750 perches, or nearly two and one-half miles to the Pequea creek near Henry Haines'; then directly west 682 perches, something over two miles, to the Big Spring; then by several courses and distances slightly south of west 2,395 perches, or about seven and one-half miles, to Conestoga river, "at the usual ford leading into the Manor, containing in the whole, Nineteen miles and three-fourths." And this road was confirmed, as appears on page 99 of the same docket.

The balance of the road which was prayed for seems not to have been laid at this time to Blue Rock on the Susquehanna; but shortly afterwards a road did terminate at Blue Rock.

Here it will be noticed that the petition says that this road was laid out before, but not confirmed, and that it had been conveniently in use twenty years before the date of the petition, which would take it back to 1714.

We have now traced the gradual laying out and constructing of the "Great Conestoga Road"—the first one stretching from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna river, beginning in 1683 and being completed about 1734. Its location on the map is indicated by the letters and names (beginning at Philadelphia), "C. Merion, Haverford Meeting House, John Minshall's, Gap, Strasburg, Henry Haines', Big Springs, Postlethwaite's and a star." This highway bore the same relation to our forefathers of Lancaster and Chester counties that the Pennsylvania railroad bears to us to-day.

It would be an interesting thing to ascertain what taverns existed along its course, but this is properly the subject of a separate inquiry and I will not attempt it. Two of the first buildings of Lancaster county are still standing along its course; the westernmost is George Fehl's residence near Rock Hill, at one time the Court House for Lancaster county; and the eastern one of the two, the old Herr stone house, built in 1719, on the farm now occupied by David Huber, Jr., near Willow Street; farther east there may be several more, but I am not acquainted with their location. This ends all that we can say upon the Great Conestoga Road.

At a future time I hope to take up in a way similar to this the various other roads which were tributary to the Great Conestoga Road, and show by that, that this Conestoga road and its tributaries were the avenues of trade out of the Lower Conestoga Valley, on to Philadelphia; while another set of roads farther north were a similar artery of trade out of the Donegals, the Upper Conestoga Valley and the Upper Pequea Valley into Philadelphia.

I shall briefly enumerate these roads as they are set forth on the map, and with that conclude this discussion. They are:

(1) A road from Lime Stone Ridge at the headwaters of the Pequea, running southward and crossing the Great Conestoga road on to White Oak Springs, to John Churchman's, in Maryland, laid out by Chester county Courts in 1724, where the record may be found.

(2) The old Peters road, beginning at the junction of the Cocalico and Conestoga creeks, and leading by Eby's mill, Daniel Cookson's, Joseph Darlington's, joining the Great Conestoga road at John Spruce's land, in Whiteland township, Chester county, found among the records of the Chester county Courts, under the date of 1726.

(3) The road now known as the Harrisburg and Downingtown turnpike, found in Lancaster county records, under the date of 1735, joining the old Conestoga road at Downingtown.

(4) The King's highway from Lancaster, extending eastward by the Compass Church and joining the old Conestoga road in the early days about Downingtown.

(5) An early road from Chestnut Level to Lancaster.

(6) A road from Harris' Ferry to Lancaster, in 1736.

(7) A road from Donegal, joining the Harrisburg road, about 1742.

(8) The old Octoraro road, found in August sessions, 1719, of the Quarter Sessions Court of Chester county, this being the earliest road in Lancaster county laid out by order of Court.

In addition to these the following roads on the map deserve some attention, viz.:

(1) The old New Castle and Conestoga Whisky road, mentioned in Colonial Records, about 1701.

(2) The old Swedish road, between Christiana and Susquehanna, mentioned by Campanius Holm and also by Acrelius, dated about 1646.

(3) The road or highway mentioned by Penn between Philadelphia and Susquehanna, by way of French creek, mention of which is made in Volume 1 of Hazard's Register, pages 400, dated 1687.

(4) Two roads or Indian paths, not shown on the map, but mentioned in Volume 3, Part 2, page 131, of the "Memoirs of the Historical Society at Philadelphia," one running northwest-
erly, crossing Rock Run, fifteen miles from Philadelphia; the other intersecting Doe Run, thirty-eight miles from Philadelphia, dated about 1638. These last mentioned groups of roads will form part two of this discussion of early roads into Lancaster county.

time became an aggressive advocate of anti-slavery principles.

He was elected Justice of the Peace in 1853 and held that office until 1861, having held his commission while serving in the War of the Rebellion. He also served one term as Republican Clerk of Quarter Sessions Court, being elected in 1857. In 1861 he enlisted as a private in Company K, Fifth Pennsylvania Reserve. He took part in many notable engagements and was mustered out of the service in 1864, with the title of Captain.

Mr. Evans became noted as a local historian, and his knowledge of events in Lancaster county was always un-
doubted. He possessed a remarkable knowledge of events which transpired in Columbia, and was familiar with all

the original settlers and old families.
He frequently wrote many interesting
articles on early history.

Mr. Evans was a member of the
Welsh Presbyterian Church, and of
the Columbia Anti-Slavery So-
ciety. He

The following is the report of the
committee appointed to prepare a
tribute to the late Samuel Evans,
Esq., one of the Society's most valued
members:

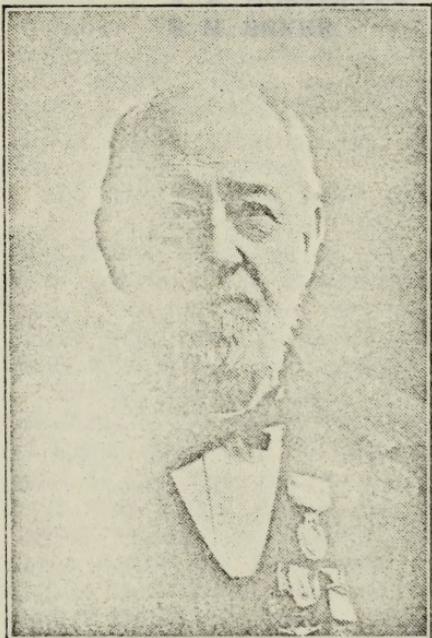
Samuel Evans, Esq., died at his
home in Columbia, this county, on
April 22, 1908, in the eighty-fifth year
of his age. He was a son of Alexander
Lowery Evans and Ann Slay-
maker Evans, and was born January
20, 1823. He received a common-
school education, and in 1838 became
an apprentice to Israel Cooper, build-
er, of Columbia. Subsequently he en-
gaged in business for himself. He
was an active politician, attaching
himself to the Whig party, and in
time became an aggressive advocate
of anti-slavery principles.

He was elected Justice of the Peace
in 1853 and held that office until 1900,
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Mr. Evans was a member of Gen. Welsh Post, No. 118, G. A. R., and of the Colonial Society, Scotch-Irish Society, Maryland Historical Society, Harford County, Md., Historical Society, and the Lancaster County His-



SAMUEL EVANS, ESQ.

torical Society. He was one of the founders of the Lancaster County Historical Society, and for eleven years its first vice president. He was a generous donor to our society, presenting us with a number of valuable books and bound files of newspapers.

This Society deplores the death of Mr. Evans, and recognizes in him one of the founders and fast friends of the Society. He was a scholar of

rare attainments, a close student of history, and his essays on these subjects were appreciated and form valuable contributions to our own publications and to local historical literature generally. His impress, stamped upon the proceedings and publications of this Society, is a monument to his genius and patient research.

The Local History
Society has
to submit
F. R. DIFFENDERFFER,
A. K. HOSTETTER,
S. M. SENER.

evening in the room above Smith Library building. There was a good attendance of members and the meeting proved a most interesting one. President Slocum presided.

Two new members were elected, Charles A. Pucrowes, of Lititz, and Miss Susan McElvaine, of this city. The application for membership of John J. Downing, of this city, was received, and under the rules will be acted upon at the next meeting.

Librarian Gieber announced that the donations to the library consisted of 42 bound volumes of historical character, 14 pamphlets and two old deeds from Miss Lillian Evans, the same having belonged to Samuel Evans, Esq. Among the books are: "History of Cecil County, Maryland," "Annals of the Buffalo Valley," "History of the Upper Octopus Church," "Register of the Sons of the Revolution in Pennsylvania," and a number of reports of the Smithsonian Institution.

The Pennsylvania State Library donated 18 volumes of a statistical character.

The Lancaster County Agricultural Society, through Mr. F. R. Diffenderfer and his other officers, having disbanded, donated a book case, containing 225 volumes of agricultural reports of Pennsylvania and other States, 50 miscellaneous agricultural

volumes, and a large number of pamphlets on kindred topics.

A. C. Bruner, Esq., of Columbia, presented a copy of the report of the

Minutes of the June Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., June 5, 1908.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its last meeting previous to summer adjournment this (Friday) evening in the rooms in the Smith Library building. There was a good attendance of members and the meeting proved a most interesting one. President Steinman presided.

Two new members were elected, Charles A. Burrowes, of Lititz, and Miss Susan McIlvaine, of this city. The application for membership of John J. Bowman, of this city, was received, and, under the rules, will be acted upon at the next meeting.

Librarian Sener announced that the donations to the library consisted of 42 bound volumes of historical character, 14 pamphlets and two old deeds from Miss Lillian Evans, the same having belonged to Samuel Evans, Esq. Among the books are: "History of Cecil County, Maryland," "Annals of the Buffalo Valley," "History of the Upper Octoraro Church," "Register of the Sons of the Revolution in Pennsylvania," and a number of reports of the Smithsonian Institution.

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volumes, and a large number of pamphlets on kindred topics.

A. C. Bruner, Esq., of Columbia, presented a copy of the report of the Kansas Historical Society's proceedings for 1905-6, and four pamphlets of the same society; D. B. Landis donated two local postcards of historical subjects; Mr. George Hergenrother presented a flax hackle dated 1807; a number of exchanges for May; S. M. Sener donated an old naturalization paper; Monroe B. Hirsh donated several old documents.

A vote of thanks was extended to the donors.

The vacancy in the office of Vice President, caused by the death of Samuel Evans, was filled by the unanimous election of Mr. F. R. Diffenderffer, the motion being made by A. K. Hostetter.

The paper of the evening was read by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., who had as his subject, "The Old Road From Philadelphia to the Susquehanna." It dealt with the history of a number of early roads in Lancaster and Chester counties, and the formation of the road which led from Philadelphia to Postlethwaite's tavern, and then on to the Susquehanna. Much new material on the subject was brought out by the author.

Mr. Eshleman was extended a vote of thanks, and the paper ordered to be printed in the Society's publications.

Mr. S. M. Sener submitted the report of the committee appointed at the last meeting to prepare a tribute to the late Samuel Evans, Esq., one of the vice presidents of the society since its organization.

The Society decided to hold its annual summer outing at York, and on motion of Dr. M. L. Chadman Presi-

dent Steinman appointed the following committee to make arrangements: Miss Martha B. Clark, F. R. Differdier, A. K. Hostetter and S. M. Sener. The date for the excursion has not yet been selected.

The Society then adjourned, to meet the first Friday night in September.

The "Outing" Postponed.

The date for the Society's outing was fixed for June 26, but owing to the intense heat at that time it was deemed best to postpone it indefinitely.

TO THE
SHAMROCK MEADS IN
THE NEIGHBORHOOD

W

School

ASSOCIATION

ESTER

DRAN

OUNTY

STAN

Copyright 1907

BY
FRANK ESHLEMAN
Lancaster, Pa.

Map
Showing Location
and Date of
The Earliest Highways
Leading from
The Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers
to the
Susquehanna River
(Its Branches)

By H. Frank Eshleman, Esq. ^{Scale}
Lancaster, Pa. 1907. $\frac{3}{4}$ inch = 5 mi.

Protected by Copyright—HFE

Explanation.
County Lines
Highway
First Line Being Last Cut
Great Conestoga Road
Peters Road
Estona Ridgez Churchman Road
Gordon Road
New Castle Conestoga Whiskey Rd.
Waddington Surrance Rd.
L. & L. Rd. No. 457-152-152

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SEPTEMBER 4, 1908.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

By F. R. DILLENBURGER, LL.D.

Minutes of September Meeting

LANCASTER COUNTY LOYALISTS.

MINUTES OF SEPTEMBER MEETING.

VOL. XII. NO. 7.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1908.

239-42

LANCASTER COUNTY LOYALISTS

The idea of preparing an article for our series on the Loyalists of Lancaster County during the Revolutionary struggle occurred to me several years ago, and I at once began to gather such material records that purpose as I could find. As the numbers of these Loyalists or Tories, as they are generally called now, who write well, I soon found that the proposed article would necessarily be a very brief one, owing to the scanty records that were accessible to me.

Lancaster County Loyalists - - - - - 243
By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D.

Minutes of September Meeting - - - - - 279

I did not succeed in gathering all the information I had hoped for. I quickly found out that there was a far broader and equally interesting field at hand by taking up the case of the Loyalists everywhere throughout the country during the contest with the mother country for independence. In fact, the story of the Loyalists at the beginning of that struggle, during its continuance and after its close marks one of the most painful, pathetic and pitiable episodes in our history, one that should be better known than it is by most persons.

Not long ago the library of an eminent Canadian who held high office in that country was sold in New York City, and among other valuable literary treasures were, I think, fully one hundred volumes bearing with this question. That single fact will serve to show you how deeply the Loyalist

question affected Great Britain as well as our own country. I therefore

LANCASTER COUNTY LOYALISTS

The idea of preparing an article for our society on the Loyalists of Lancaster county during the Revolutionary struggle occurred to me several years ago, and I at once began to gather such material towards that purpose as I could find. As the number of these Loyalists or Tories, as they are generally called now, was quite small, I soon found that the proposed article would necessarily be a very brief one, owing to the scanty records that were accessible to me at that time, and I partially gave up the project and laid aside what I had prepared, uncertain whether I should ever resume the plan or not.

But, while I did not succeed in procuring all the information I had hoped for, I quickly found out that there was a far broader and equally interesting field at hand by taking up the case of the Loyalists everywhere throughout the country during the contest with the mother country for independence. In fact, the story of the Loyalists at the beginning of that struggle, during its continuance and after its close marks one of the most painful, pathetic and pitiable episodes in our history, one that should be better known than it is by most persons.

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question affected Great Britain as well as our own country. I, therefore, decided that a general article covering the whole Loyalist question should precede the more local one. But a little later, while rummaging among the unpublished archives at Harrisburg, I happened upon a number of original documents bearing upon our Tories, and these have enabled me to give a greater degree of fulness to the earlier sketch I had designed. I had copies of those papers made, and will incorporate them in the sketch that will now be presented to the Society. The other part of the subject may be resumed later, as a large amount of data has been accumulated.

I will only say, in addition to this brief introduction, that I have used the terms "Loyalists" and "Tories" as representing one and the same class of persons—people who, when the struggle with the mother country came along, took sides with that country. The patriots called them "Tories," but they termed themselves "Loyalists," as did Great Britain, and as historians have generally done since then.

Sincerity of the Loyalists.

At this distant day it will no longer be accounted as treason to the patriot cause to say that the men, who in the dark hours of the Revolution adhered to the cause of the King and the crown were as honest and sincere as those who took part with the Colonial cause. They had sworn loyalty to Great Britain. They did not, even in a majority of cases, approve of the actions of the British Government toward the Colonies, but they regarded rebellion and disloyalty as a crime, and, as they had been peaceful and

prosperous under their long-time rulers, they rejected the cause of independence, just as did many thousand others who later changed sides and assumed the role of patriots. It is well, therefore, that we disabuse our minds at the outset of the idea that these Loyalists were foes of their country and bad men generally. It must be remembered, also, that many held offices under the crown, to which they had sworn fealty, and such were doubly inclined to side with the Government to which they owed their all. Then, too, on the one side was arrayed the most powerful nation in the world, while on the other were a people few in number, with comparatively little wealth, and which, to most, seemed incapable of waging successful war against a nation like Great Britain. They realized what fate awaited the men who took up arms against their own Government. If it did not mean the block or the scaffold, it assuredly meant the confiscation of their estates, and, as many of them were persons of great wealth, that swayed them in the course they took. We can, therefore, at this distant day, look upon their final action with leniency, because it is just what men would do under like circumstances at the present hour. We must never lose sight of the fact that whether the Loyalists were justified or not in the attitude they assumed toward the rebellion of the colonies, they were as sincere and firm in their convictions, and quite as ready to undergo all the consequences resulting from those convictions, as the men who cast their fortunes with the cause of the colonies. Naturally, they were anxious to save their property as well as their lives, but in the

hour of trial many suffered martyrdom for the cause they had espoused with the same heroism that men have shown in any age for family, country, or religion. Let me give an example, which, while drawn from humble life, and has a somewhat comical aspect, nevertheless proves that even the humblest adherent to the royal cause was capable of making sacrifice required of him in the supreme hour of trial.

An Humble Example.

Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, while small companies of patriots were hurrying from every quarter of the country to join the patriot army that was forming to meet the foe, a regiment of Southern militia was hurrying North to join the patriot forces. It crossed the James river at the then comparatively insignificant town of Richmond, in Virginia. In marching through the place they passed by the house of a shoemaker, who was standing in his doorway. As the soldiers swept by he cried, "Hurrah for King George." No notice was taken of the noisy royalist and the soldiers went into camp in a woods a short distance beyond the place. While cooking and eating their dinner the outspoken shoemaker came into their camp and again began to hurrah for the King. At the conclusion of the frugal meal the soldiers started on their way. The shoemaker followed them and kept hurrahing for King George. That was more than the commanding officer could stand and ordered the loud-mouthed tory to be taken back and ducked in the river. A long rope was speedily tied around the waist of the pertinacious cobbler, and he was thrown into the river and see-sawed backward and forward until he was nearly drowned.

But every time he got his head out of the water his old hurrahs for the King were heard. The commander's patience was at length exhausted by the poor man's persistency and he ordered him to be tarred and feathered. A feather bed from the shoemaker's own house was brought. His wife and daughter came along, and amid their crying besought the husband and father to hold his tongue, but all to no purpose, and he continued his disloyal cries as before. The King-worshipper was stripped, plunged into a convenient tar-barrel and then plunged headforemost into the feather bed which had been ripped open to receive him. He was a singularly unhandsome creature, and it would have been difficult to tell to what part of the animal kingdom he belonged had he not kept on hurrahing for King George as loudly as the circumstances would allow. He was then drummed out of the town with the warning that if any further annoyance was experienced from him he would be shot.¹

It will be conceded that this poor shoemaker was a good deal of a fool along with his loyalty, but, nevertheless, he was but one of many thousands who were as firm in their loyalty, and who were equally ready to make whatever sacrifice of property or person the dominant party might see fit to exact. In fact, during the long and dreadful fratricidal war that followed, one hundred thousand of the most intelligent men in the country either lost their lives or went into exile for the principles so vociferously proclaimed by our honest, but deluded, Virginia shoemaker.

¹Quoted by Van Tyne from State Records of North Carolina; vol. xl, p. 835.

~~know to be~~ First Action Taken.

The first general move on the part of the Council of Safety of this State looking to the arrest and imprisonment of suspected Loyalists was an Act passed on June 13, 1777, in which it was declared that "there is danger of having the seeds of discord & disaffection greatly spread by persons whose political principles are not known, removing from one State to another; and it is well-known that this state is already become and likely to be more so, an Asylum for refugees flying from the just resentment of their Fellow-Citizens in other States."

As a result, an order was issued that every person above the age of 18 years traveling out of the country where he usually resided without a certificate of his having taken the oath of allegiance, might be suspected of being a spy and to hold principles inimical to the United States, should be taken before the nearest Justice of the Peace to take the oath of allegiance, and upon his refusal to do so be jailed and remain so without bail until he does take it.

The following is the oath: "I — do swear (or affirm) that I renounce and refuse all allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors: and that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, a free and independent State, and that I will not at any time do or cause to be done any matter or thing that will be prejudicial or injurious to the freedom and independence thereof, as declared by Congress, and also that I will discover and make known to some one justice of the peace of said State of all treasons or traitorous conspiracies which I now know or hereafter shall

know to be formed against this or any of the United States of America..... Persons refusing or neglecting to take this oath or affirmation shall, during the time of such neglect or refusal, be incapable of holding any office or place of trust in the State, serving on juries, suing for any debts, electing or being elected, buying or selling or transferring any lands, tenements or hereditaments and shall be disarmed."

Under the act of October 2, 1777, the following warrant was issued to Owen Biddle, Joseph Dean, Richard Bache and John Shee, Esquires, members of the Board of War:

"Whereas, great inconvenience and mischief may happen by the going at large of divers persons who were officers of the King of Great Britain and of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, and it is highly expedient in the present situation of affairs, when the Enemy threaten an invasion of this State with a powerful army and fleet, that such persons be secured. These are therefore, in consequence of a resolve of Congress, dated yesterday, to authorize and require you to imprison and remove to such places as you shall see fit, the persons whose names are mentioned and contained in the list hereunto subjoined, and to confine or enlarge upon parole such of them as you may, from their Character & Behavior, see proper to detain or dismiss. And the names of said persons are as followeth, that is to say:

"Hon. John Penn, late Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania; James Hamilton, Benjamin Chew, John Lawrence, James Tilghman, Jared Ingersoll, Edward Shippen, jun'r, Joseph Shippen, jun'r & James Allen, Esquire, William Hamilton, James Humphries, William Emly, Phineas Bond, Joseph

Stanbury, Stephen Savel, William Smith, Charles Eddy, Charles Jarvis, William D. Smith, Alexander Stidman, Elija Brown, James Humphries, jun'r, Richard Vaux, Caleb Emlen, Richard Footman, Richard Wistar, John Drinker, Henry Drinker, Richard Wells, Thomas Coomb, Thomas Ashbenton, —Gurney, son-in-law of J. Ross, Esq. — Lenox, John Sullivan, Papley.

"And you are hereby further empowered to imprison, remove, confine and enlarge on their parole as you see fit all persons whatsoever whom you may know or suspect to be disaffected to, & inimically disposed against the United free States of North America, or against this Commonwealth. And for so doing this shall be to you, or any two of you, sufficient warrant and authority. Given under my hand seal, this first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven.

"Indorsed—"

"Warrant to the Gentn of the Board of War for arresting officers under the late Government. (That is, the Proprietary Government.)"

On August 4, 1777, another warrant was issued for the arrest of Jared Ingersoll, Judge of the Admiralty Court, and sending him under parole to Virginia, as well as several other prominent, suspected persons.

Action Against Governor Penn.

On the same day the Council issued the following order: "Inconformity to a resolve of Congress, & for the public safety, we hereby authorize you or any of you, with necessary assistants, to imprison John Penn, Esquire, late Governor, &c, & to remove him to such place as you shall see fit; and to confine & enlarge him upon parole or otherwise, as we may further order. At present we instruct

you to allow Mr. Penn to remain on his parole at house in — confining himself to the distance of six miles from thence, on the western side of Schuylkill." This was rather rough on the man who had been Governor of the province for the past three years and one of its actual proprietors.

Under the same act an order was passed by the Supreme Executive Council on May 6, 1778, appointing commissions to look after the estates of persons who should be attainted of treason. Everhart Michael, Philip Greenwalt, George Stewart and Francis Armstrong were the agents for Lancaster county. They were given lengthy instructions how to proceed. The kind of estates, where located and other particulars were to be advertised. One-fourth of the purchase money was to be paid in ten days after the sale and the remainder in one month.

On May 8, 1778, the Council, for the first time, issued a proclamation under the seal of the State, naming a large number of persons in the different counties "to render themselves respectively to one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, or of the Justices of the Peace within the State, on or before the 25th of June next, and abide their legal trial for having severally adhered to and knowingly and willingly aided & assisted the enemies of this State and of the United States of America," etc.

On the 15th of June, 1778, another proclamation was issued to the same effect, but including many more names than the previous one, about two hundred in all. Still another one of the same tenor was issued later.

(253)

**List of Persons Proclaimed Traitors
in the State of Pennsylvania.**

Although the foregoing referred to lists of persons cited to appear before the proper officials to render an account of themselves and abide trial before the official tribunals, and is published in the Colonial Records, I have thought it might be of general interest to append an official alphabetical list of all the persons attainted of High Treason in pursuance of the Treason Laws of this Commonwealth, as recently made and published in Volume III., of the Fourth Series of the Penna. Archives. In all 487 persons were attainted in this State. The list also shows what disposition was made of their several cases, whether they gave themselves up, were discharged or whether their estates were confiscated and sold:

A.

ALLEN, JOHN; died before the day limited for surrender.
 ALLEN, ANDREW.
 ALLEN, WILLIAM, JR.
 AUSTIN, WILLIAM.
 ARMSTRONG, FRANCIS.
 ARMSTRONG, WILLIAM.
 AIREY, JOHN.
 ASHBRIDGE, AARON, discharged by Sup. Court.
 ANDREWS, WILLIAM.
 ANDERSON, WILLIAM.
 ALLEN, JAMES; surrendered and died.
 ALLEN, ISAAC.
 ADAMS, JOHN E.
 ARTHUR, PETER E.
 ASPDEN, MATTHIAS.
 ARNOLD, BENEDICT.
 ANDERSON, STEPHEN.
 ADAMS, JONATHAN.
 ADAMS, SUSANNAH.

B.

BIDDLE, JOHN.
 BARTRAM, ALEXANDER.
 BILES, SAMUEL.
 BULLA, THOMAS.
 BRAKEN, JAMES.
 BROOKES, BOWYER; surrendered and discharged.
 BADGE, THOMAS.
 BULLA, JOHN.
 BRAY, JOHN.
 BRAMHALL, THOMAS.

BROWN, JOHN; surrendered and discharged.
 BUCKINGHAM, JOHN.
 BOLTON, JOSEPH; tried and acquitted.
 BUTCHER, JOHN.
 BRYAN, JOEL; surrendered.
 BURNS, GEORGE.
 BALDERSTONE, MORDECAI.
 BROWN, WILLIAM.
 BURROWS, SAMUEL.
 BOATMAN, GEORGE.
 BROWN, BENJAMIN.
 BROWN, BENJAMIN (carpenter); surrendered and discharged.
 BRIGGS, GEORGE; surrendered and discharged.
 BARTO, Thomas; surrendered and discharged.
 BEAN, JESSE; surrendered and discharged.
 BUFFINGTON, JACOB.
 BULLOCK, ISAAC.
 BURNETT, JOHN; surrendered and discharged.
 BELL, SAMUEL; surrendered and discharged.
 BURK, ISAAC.
 BURNS, THOMAS.
 BELL, WILLIAM.
 BROWN, JAMES.
 BURD, JOHN.
 BURR, HUDSON.
 BURKETT, JOHN.
 BURK, JOHN.
 BURGE, DAVID.
 BARROW, SAMUEL.
 BARTLETT, JOHN.
 BOOTH, BENJAMIN.
 BOND, PHINEAS.
 BROWN, GEORGE.
 BOYER, JACOB.—
 BARE, ABRAHAM.
 BUFFINGTON, JOSHUA; tried and acquitted.
 BUFFINGTON, RICHARD.
 BLACKFORD, MARTIN.

C.

CARLISLE, ABRAHAM.
 CLIFTON, ALFRED.
 COXE, TENCH; surrendered and discharged.
 CLIFTON, WILLIAM; surrendered and discharged.
 COMPTON, WILLIAM; surrendered and discharged.
 COYLE, ROBERT; surrendered and discharged.
 CHRISTY, WILLIAM.
 CARVER, NATHAN.
 CUNRAD, ALBERT.
 COXE, DANIEL.
 CHALMERS, JAMES.
 COUPAR, ROBERT.
 CHEVALIER, JOHN; surrendered and discharged.
 CLUB, JAMES.
 CUNNINGHAM, JOHN; surrendered and discharged.
 CURRY, ROSS.
 CRAIG, JAMES; surrendered and discharged.

CONNER, MICHAEL.
 CANBY, JOSEPH.
 CANBY, THOMAS.
 CAMPBELL, ARTHUR.
 CHAPMAN, SAMUEL; tried and ac-
 quitted.
 CHAPMAN, AMOS.
 CHAPMAN, ABRAHAM.
 CHAPMAN, DAVID.
 CLARK, ABRAHAM; surrendered and
 discharged.
 CYPHER, JACOB.
 CALDWELL, WILLIAM.
 CLARK, WILLIAM.
 CRICKLEY, MICHAEL.
 CURLAN, WILLIAM.
 CROGHAN, GEORGE; surrendered and
 discharged.
 COLSTON, JOHN.
 COMELY, JOSEPH.
 CAMPBELL, WILLIAM.
 CAMPBELL, JOHN.
 CAMPEELL, PETER.
 CLARK, JOHN.
 CROCKSON, DENNIS.
 CORKER, WILLIAM.
 CORBET, ALEXANDER.

D.

DUCHE, JACOB, JR.
 DESHONG, PETER; tried and ac-
 quitted.
 DAWSON, DAVID.
 DELAPLAIN, JAMES; surrendered and
 discharged.
 DAVIS, JAMES; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 DAVIS, BENJAMIN.
 DOVER, ROBERT; surrendered and
 discharged.
 DOAN, JOSEPH.
 DENNIS, HENRY.
 DENNIS, JOHN.
 DOBLE, JOSEPH.
 DE NORMANDIE, ANDREW.
 DE NORMANDIE, WILLIAM.
 DAVIS, WILLIAM; tried and acquitted.
 DAVIS, GEORGE.
 DUNN, WILLIAM.
 DUNN, GEORGE; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 DUNN, MALIN.
 DUNN, GEORGE.
 DENNIS, JOHN.
 DELONG, JAMES.
 DOLSTON, ISAAC.
 DOLSTON, MATTHEW.
 DOLSTON, ISAAC, JR.

E.

EVANS, ABEL.
 EVE, OSWALD.
 EVANS, ISRAEL.
 EVANS, WILLIAM.
 EVANS, JOEL.
 EASTON, DENNIS.
 ELLWOOD, JOHN; tried, convicted and
 pardoned.
 EDWARDS, JOSEPH; surrendered and
 discharged.

EFFINGER, HENRY, JR.
 ELLIOTT, MATTHEW.
 EVANS, WILLIAM.
 EVANS, JOHN.
 ELLIOTT, ANDREW.
 ENSOR, GEORGE.
 EDDY, CHARLES.
 EDDY, THOMAS.
 ERWIN, EDWARD.

F.

FOUTS, CHRISTIAN.
 FERGUSON, HUGH HENRY.
 FISHER, COLEMAN.
 FISHER, JAMES; surrendered and
 discharged.
 FEGAN, LAWRENCE.
 FELL, WILLIAM.
 FEATHERBY, THOMAS.
 FALKENSTON, ABRAHAM.
 FURSUER, ANDREW.
 FIELDS, GEORGE.
 FIELDS, DANIEL.
 FIELDS, GILBERT.
 FURNER, MORRIS.
 FURNER, EDWARD.
 FALKENSTINE, JACOB.
 FLEMING, LOW.
 FOX, JOHN.
 FOX, JOSEPH.
 FAIRLAMB, SAMUEL.
 FINCKER, BENJAMIN.

G.

GALLOWAY, JOSEPH.
 GARRIGUES, SAMUEL; the elder;
 tried and convicted.
 GRIFFITH, EVAN.
 GREEN, ISAAC, JR.
 GARRIGUES, SAMUEL, JR.; surren-
 dered and discharged.
 GIBBS, BENJAMIN; surrendered and
 discharged.
 GREGSON, JAMES; surrendered and
 discharged.
 GREGORY, DAVID.
 GILMORE, JAMES.
 GOSLING, JOHN; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 GOOD, GEORGE.
 GRISSEL, EDWARD; surrendered and
 discharged.
 GILL, JOSEPH.
 GORMAN, JAMES; surrendered and
 discharged.
 GORMAN, ENOCH; surrendered and
 discharged.
 GERTY, SIMON.
 GREEN, THOMAS.
 GIBBONS, EDWARD.
 GRESWOLD, JOSEPH.
 GORDON, THOMAS.
 GIVIN, HUGH.
 GORDON, HENRY.

H.

HICKS, GILBERT.
 HOOK, CHRISTIAN.
 HANLON, EDWARD.
 HOVENDON, RICHARD.

HOLDER, JOHN; tried and acquitted.
 HOLDER, JACOB.
 HOLDER, GEORGE.
 HOLZINGER, INGELHOLT.
 HUMPHREYS, JAMES, SR.; surrendered and discharged.
 HUMPHREYS, JAMES, JR.
 HART, JOHN; surrendered and discharged.
 HART, CHAMLESS, surrendered and discharged.
 HOWARD, PETER; surrendered and discharged.
 HATHE, ANDREW; tried and acquitted.
 HUNTSMAN, JOHN.
 HURST, TIMOTHY.
 HALES, JOHN.
 HENDERSON, JOHN.
 HENRY, HUGH; Ing's Bill and discharged.
 HILL, JOHN; surrendered and discharged.
 HOWELL, JOHN.
 HENDRICKSON, JEREMIAH.
 HARVEY, JOHN.
 HILL, HENRY.
 HAINS, CALEB.
 HART, SAMUEL.
 HARTNETT, JAMES; tried and acquitted.
 HENRY, WILLIAM.
 HARDY, PETER.
 HUGHES, URIAH; surrendered and discharged.
 HUTCHINSON, ISAAC.
 HUTCHINSON, THOMAS.
 HUTCHINSON, MARMADUKE.
 HARE, JACOB.
 HARE, MICHAEL.
 HILL, PATRICK.
 HUTCHINSON, JOHN.
 HARVEY, SAMUEL.
 HONSECKER, NICHOLAS.
 HUGHES, THOMAS.

I.

IREDALE, ROBERT, JR.
 IREDALE, THOMAS.
 IREDALE, ABRAHAM.
 IRVIN, ALEXANDER.
 INGLIS, JAMES.
 IRWIN, DUNNING.
 IRWIN, FRANCIS.
 INK, JOHN.

J.

JAMES, JACOB.
 JAMES, ABEL; surrendered and discharged.
 JOHNSTON, JOHN.
 JEFFRIES, SAMUEL; surrendered and discharged.
 JOUNKIN, HENRY.
 JAMES, BENJAMIN.
 JONES, DAVID; surrendered.
 JONES, EDWARD.
 JONES, JONATHAN.
 JONES, JESSE.
 JONES, DANIEL.
 JONES, HOLTON.

JONES, HUGH.
 JONES, DANIEL.
 JACKSON, JOHN.

surrendered, and

K.

KEEN, REYNOLD; pardoned by Act
 of Assembly.
 KERKER, LODOWICK; surrendered
 and discharged.
 KNIGHT, JOSHUA.
 KNIGHT, JOHN.
 KNIGHT, ISAAC; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 KOSTER, SAMUEL.
 KOSTER, JOHN.
 KNIGHT, NICHOLAS.
 KENNETH, LEVY.
 KENNEDY, WILLIAM.
 KISSACK, ROBERT.
 KILBY, LAWRENCE.
 KING, JOSEPH.
 KENNARD, JOSEPH.
 KISSELMAN, FREDERICK; surren-
 dered and discharged.
 KNAPPER, GEORGE.
 KEARSLEY, JOHN.
 KENNARD, JOSEPH.

L.

LIEVEZLY, THOMAS; surrendered and
 discharged.
 LOVE, WILLIAM.
 LILE, HENRY; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 LILE, JOHN; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 LILE, ROBERT; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 LEWIS, CURTIS.
 LOOSLY, ROBERT.
 LINDON, HUGH.
 LINDY, URIAH.
 LONG, ABRAHAM.
 LAWSON, JAMES.
 LOUGHBOROUGH, JOHN.
 LITTLE, JAMES.
 LAND, ROBERT.
 LAND, JOHN.
 LIGHTFOOT, SAMUEL; surrendered
 and discharged.
 LINDSEY, SAMUEL.

M.

MILLER, PETER; tried and acquitted.
 MARCHINTON, PHILIP.
 MOLAND, WILLIAM; surrendered.
 McHUGH, MATTHEW; surrendered
 and discharged.
 McCULLOUGH, KENNETH.
 MENG, MELCHOIR; surrendered and
 discharged.
 MENG, JACOB; tried and acquitted.
 McMURTRIE, WILLIAM; surrendered
 and discharged.
 MORRIS, WILLIAM.
 MAYER, JACOB; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 MORAN, CHARLES.
 MICHENOR, ISAAC.
 McMULLAN, JAMES.

MARTIN, THOMAS.
 MOULDER, JOHN.
 MALIN, JOSEPH; surrendered and
 discharged.
 MALIN, ELISHA; pardoned.
 MILLSON, JOHN.
 MADDOCK, WILLIAM.
 MALIN, JAMES; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 MILLER, BENJAMIN; surrendered and
 discharged.
 MUSGROVE, JOHN.
 McCLARIN, JAMES.
 MARIS, DAVID.
 MORGAN, MOSES.
 MARR, LAWRENCE.
 McMICHAEL, EDWARD.
 McCART, JOHN.
 MCKEE, ALEXANDER.
 MARSHALL, WILLIAM; surrendered
 and discharged.
 MORRIS, ENOCH.
 MAGEE, HENRY; surrendered and
 discharged, by name of Henry Maag.
 McNEAL, DOMINICK.
 MACKINETT, JOHN.
 MACKINESS, THOMAS.
 MEREDITH, JOHN.
 McDONALD, ALEXANDER.
 MCKENSIE, KENNETH.
 MCPHERSON, WILLIAM.

N.

NIXON, ROBERT.

O.

OSWALT, HENRY.
 O'KAIN, HUGH.
 O'KAIN, DARBY.
 OVERHOLT, JOHN.

P.

POTTS, JOHN.
 PUGH, JAMES.
 PUGH, HUGH.
 PRICE, WILLIAM.
 PARROCK, JOHN.
 POTTS, DAVID; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 PASTORIUS, ABRAHAM.
 PARKER, JOHN.
 PYLE, CALEB; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 PIKE, JOHN; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 PALMER, JOHN; surrendered and dis-
 charged.
 PRICE, PETER.
 POOR, JOHN; tried and acquitted.
 PARK, ABIJAH.
 PROCTOR, JOSHUA.
 PALMER, RICHARD; surrendered and
 discharged.
 PERLIE, PETER.
 PATTERSON, JOHN; surrendered and
 discharged.
 PILES, WILLIAM.
 PROCTOR, JOSHUA.

Q.

QUYER, STEPHEN; surrendered and
 discharged.

R.

RANKIN, JAMES.
 ROBERTS, JOHN.
 RANKIN, JOHN.
 ROBERTS, OWEN.
 REINE, GEORGE.
 REINE, JOHN.
 ROSS, MALCOLM.
 ROKER, THOMAS.
 RIDDLER, JAMES; surrendered and
 discharged.
 ROBESON, PETER; surrendered and
 discharged.
 ROBESON, JONATHAN, JR.
 ROBERTS, JOHN; laborer.
 ROBERTS, JOHN; smith.
 RICHARDSON, JACOB; surrendered
 and discharged.
 ROMIGH, JOSEPH.
 RODGERS, JOHN.
 RICKY, ALEXANDER.
 REGISTER, DANIEL; surrendered and
 discharged.
 RYMER, JOHN.
 ROSS, WILLIAM.
 RUSSELL, MATTHEW.
 RHODDEN, WILLIAM.
 ROBERTS, NATHAN.
 ROBESON, JOHN.
 RUNDLE, DANIEL; surrendered and
 discharged.
 REID, JOHN.
 ROSS, ALEXANDER.
 RANKIN, WILLIAM.

S.

SHOEMAKER, SAMUEL.
 STORY, ENOCH.
 STEPHENSON, JAMES, surrendered.
 SMITH, JOHN.
 SKYLES, HENRY.
 SWANWICK, JOHN.
 SUTTON, JOSEPH.
 SANDERSON, FRANCIS; surrendered
 and discharged.
 SPROAT, DAVID.
 STORY, THOMAS; surrendered and
 discharged.
 STEPHENS, JAMES; tried and ac-
 quitted.
 STEDMAN, CHARLES, JR.
 SHEPHERD, JOHN.
 SUTTER, PETER; surrendered and
 discharged.
 SAUR, CHRISTOPHER, JR.
 SAUR, CHRISTOPHER, SR.
 SHOEMAKER, JOSEPH; surrendered
 and discharged.
 SUPPLEE, Enoch.
 STYGER, STEPHEN; surrendered and
 discharged.
 STILES, EDWARD; surrendered and
 discharged.
 SWANNICK, RICHARD.
 SKYLES, HENRY.
 SMITHER, JAMES.
 STANSBURY, JOSEPH; surrendered
 and discharged.
 SPANGLER, GEORGE.
 SAUR, PETER.
 STYER, STEPHEN; surrendered and
 discharged.

SKELTON, WILLIAM.
 STACKHOUSE, JOHN.
 STACKHOUSE, JOHN.
 STROUD, WILLIAM; surrendered and
 discharged.
 SUPPLEE, JOHN; ignored bill and
 discharged.
 SPERING, JOHN.
 SMITH, WILLIAM; surrendered and
 discharged.
 STACKHOUSE, JOHN.
 STACKHOUSE, ROBERT.
 SNYDER, PETER.
 SMITH, ALEXANDER.
 SMITH, WILLIAM DREWITT.
 STEDMAN, ALEXANDER.
 SILKOD, THOMAS.
 SHAW, JONATHAN.
 SMITH, ANDREW; surrendered and
 discharged.
 STILLWELL, JOHN.
 STAAKS, HENRY.
 STEININGER, HENRY.
 SINCLAIR, GEORGE.
 SIMPSON, WILLIAM.

T.

THOMAS, ARTHUR.
 THOMAS, JOSEPH.
 THOMAS, WILLIAM.
 TITLEY, BENJAMIN.
 TOWN, BENJAMIN.
 TAYLOR, WILLIAM.
 TOLLY, JOHN.
 THOMPSON, DAVID.
 THOMPSON, JOSHUA.
 TAYLOR, JOHN.
 TALBOT, JOHN.
 TREGO, JACOB.
 TAYLOR, JOHN.
 THOMAS, ARTHUR, JR.
 TODD, CORTLAND.
 TAYLOR, ISAAC.
 TALBERT, JAMES.
 THOMAS, EVAN.
 TURNER, JOHN.

U.

Originally found only in

V.

VERNON, NATHANIEL.
 VERNON, NATHANIEL, JR.
 VERNER, FREDERICK.
 VERNON, GIDEON.
 VERNOR, ELIAS.
 VAUGHAN, JOHN.
 VOUGHT, CHRISTIAN.

W.

WALTON, ALBINSON.
 WILLET, WALTER.
 WILSON, JOHN.
 WITMAN, MICHAEL.
 WHARTON, CARPENTER.
 WHARTON, ISAAC.
 WELFLING, HENRY.
 WILLIAMS, WILLIAM.
 WILLIAMS, EPHRAIM.
 WILSON, CHRISTOPHER.

WORRALL, ISAIAH.
 WOOD, MOSES.
 WILLIS, WILLIAM.
 WILLIS, RICHARD.
 WILSON, JOHN.
 WHITE, ROBERT.
 WARRELL, JAMES.
 WRIGHT, WILLIAM.
 WESTON, RICHARD.
 WEITNER, GEORGE.
 WERTMAN, PHILIP, GEORGE.
 WILLIAMS, DANIEL.
 WALKER, ISAAC.
 WARDER, JOHN.
 WALN, JAMES.
 WORTHINGTON, JOSEPH.
 WEST, WILLIAM, JR.
 WRIGHT, JOHN.
 WRIGHT, JONATHAN.

X.

Y.

YOUNG, JOHN.
 YELDALL, ANTHONY.
 YOUNG, DAVID.
 YORK, THOMAS.
 YELDALL, ANTHONY.

How Disposed Of.

The foregoing 487 persons, who were attainted as traitors to the Commonwealth, I find were disposed of as follows:

Surrendered and were discharged.....	77
Tried and acquitted.....	13
Pardon by Act of Assembly.....	2
Died before day of surrender.....	2
Discharged by Supreme Court.....	1
Tried, convicted and pardoned.....	1
Bill ignored and discharged.....	1
Left the State—estates confiscated	390
Total	487

Originally I found only eight names of Lancaster county citizens attainted of treason, but in rummaging among the unpublished manuscripts in the Department of State archives I found the following important document, written by Charles Hall and George Stewart, two of the State agents for confiscated estates in this locality, which has furnished me with eight additional names of persons previously unknown to me who were also proceeded against, charged with treason, either residing in this

county or owning property within its limits. This document has never been printed, and is now made public for the first time:

Call For Information.

To Timothy Matlock, Secretary to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

Pursuant to Your Application to Me Made of the Sixth Day of May 1778 I hereby Exhibit a List of all Persons Now or Late Inhabitants of Lancaster County who have taken open part against The State and actively joined in the Services of the King of Great Britain so far as they have Reached My knowledge viz:

George Rhine,Miller, late of Committee Man. His Real Estate is 150 acres of Midling Good Quality Whereon is a good Marchant Mill Good Buildings and other improvements, in Earl township now in possession of Mary Rhine the Wife of George Rhine with the incumbranc of five children.

John Rhine,Farmer, real Estate 166 acres of Midling Quality and Good Improvements—it is under the incumbrance of the one-third of The Profits there of Accruing to his Father and Mother, Michal and Cathrine Rhine During their natural Lives—in Earl also in the Occupation of Michal Rhine, Isaac Gray his Real Estate is 10 or 11 acres with an house the soil tolorable but the improvements very Ordinary, is in Earl.

Occupation of James Watson—Holsinger Blacksmith Michal Whitman Inn Keeper, late a Committee Man, His Real Estate is 25 acres whereon the Tavern is seated and two other distant and separat pices of Land under the incumbrance of the Maintenance of his Mother in Law as I take it During life and a Cow as an Help thereto,

Cocalico Township in Possession of John palmor and John Jones—Henry Skiles Sadsbury—James henderson Do. Emas Williams of Sadsbury Township his Real Estate.

Supposed to Be 60 Acres of a Poore Quality.

Henry Rutter, Junior, of Leacock, township thought by the Most of his nabours to have gon to the Enemy, having gon shortly after Skiles, and henderson—His Real Estate the Quantity Unknown to Me but the Quality good the Improvements Midling under the incumbrance of the one third During life.

I am Sir, with Due respect Your most Obedient To Serve.

GEORGE STEWART.

May 15th 1779.

Lancaster County Tories.

It is pleasant to note that, while Lancaster county was one of the most populous of the counties then in the State, only sixteen Loyalists were attainted from our county. Their names were Michael Whitman, of Cocalico township; George Reine, of Earl township; John Reine, his brother, also of Earl; Ingelholt Holsinger, Michael Worman, Francis Sanderson, Christian Voight, of Lancaster borough; Henry Skyles, of Salisbury; James Henderson, Salisbury; Emas Williams, of Sadsbury; Henry Rutter, Jr., of Leacock; Jacob Buyer, of Donegal; Dr. John Hershey, James Rankin, Abraham Bare and Thomas Carr.

While the number, as seen, is not large, it is by no means the total list of Loyalists in the county. Only these were attainted and proceeded against. Skyles, Henderson and Rutter and most of the others went over to the enemy, while the rest faced the music here at home. It de-

serves to be stated that the woods were literally full of sympathizers with the cause of the King. They were careful, however, not to make such an open display of their loyalist tendencies as to bring them into direct conflict with the Provincial authorities. This prudence served to save their persons from seizure and their property from confiscation. If the actual facts could be got at, it would be found that there were hundreds of Loyalists in this county, instead of the score or less, which I have named.

Michael Whitman.

Of these, Michael Whitman was perhaps the wealthiest. His estate was confiscated and sold at public sale on September 4, 1779. It consisted of four tracts of land containing in the aggregate 232 acres and 83 perches. This land was purchased by Michael Diffenderffer, my great-grandfather, for £25,000. I have now in my possession the two receipts given to him for the purchase money, by Charles Hall, one of the State Agents for confiscated estates in Lancaster county. The Provincial Council approved the deed made by Hall to the purchaser on March 15, 1780; it bears date of March 15, 1780.²

The following is a list of the goods and chattels of Witman, seized by the State agents and sold by them:

Inventory of the Goods and chattels belonging to Michael Witman, lately absconded to the English, seized by Colonel Stewart, April 24th, 1778:

- To 1 stove.
- To 10 good chairs.
- To 1 Cupboard.
- To 1 Grid Iron.

²Colonial Records, first series; vol. 12, pp. 276-7-8.

To 1 bed and bed cloaths.
 To 2 Indian blanks bed and bed cloths.
 Upstairs and 2 sheets.
 To 1 sheet 1 bed and 1 blanket.
 To 2 beds 1 bolster 1 sheet and Coverlid.
 To 2 beds 1 feather, the other chaff.
 To 1 feather bed.
 To 4 bedsted in the front room.
 To 1 quart decanter 1 pint do 1 quart mug.
 To 5 broken chairs in the back shed.
 To onions.
 To 1 large Crowbar.
 To 36 bottles in the cockloft.
 To 18 bushels of oats.
 To old Iron.
 To 3 dozen black bottles.
 To 2 dozen of ditto.
 To 1 cabbage cutting box.
 To 1 bag and some hemp seed.
 To 4 barrels of beer appraised £24.
 To one barrel of Cyder royal £12.
 To one stone jug.
 To 11 dozen of Black bottles.
 To 3 empty barrels.
 To 1 hogshead and 2 empty barrels in the Cellar.
 To a quantity of shingles.
 To 1 plantation Waggon.
 To hogsheads and one barrel of Cyder.
 To 3 barrels and 1 hogshead of Whiskey.
 To 1 harrow.
 To one cutting box.
 To some oats supposed two dozen.
 To 6 bowls and 9 glasses 1 quart decanter and 2 pints do.
 To 2 quart pewter Mugs and 2 pints of the same.
 To some whiskey supposed to be two gallons.
 To 1 Feather Bed To 1 Chaff bed.

To 22 Tables and 1 stove To 1 feather bed and one Chaff do.

To 1 bed bedsted and furniture.

To 5 cows 5 sheep 4 steers and 3 young cattle.

To a quantity of salt supposed to be half bushel.

To one hundred weight of bacon. To 20 bushels of wheat.

To one sow and pigs.

signed

GEORGE STEWART agent.

Received into the secretary's Office the 15th of May, 1779.

The sale of the above goods brought £1,745.37, and the net proceeds, £1,-333.17 were paid to Treasurer David Rittenhouse.

Memorandum of Michael Witman's Estate Lying in Cocalico Township Lancaster County.

One Tract of Land Containing 49 Acres and allowance Granted to Michael Witman by a Proprietary Patent as by the said Patent record-ed in the Office at Philada.

One other tract of Land Containing 99 1-3 Acres and Allowance part of two adjacent tracts granted to a certain Michael Andreas late deceased by Patent, and granted by the Executors of the last Will and Testament of the said deceased to the said Michael Witman which Ex-ecutors Title is lodged in the Gen-eral Loan Office of Pennsylvania for the sum of £200.

One other Tract of Land of about one acre and a quarter whereon the Tavern is erected granted by John Bowman and his wife to the said Michael Witman and the same one acre and a quarter is part of a larger tract granted to the said Bowman by a Proprietary Patent.

One other Tract of twenty-four Acres granted to the said Michael Witman by a certain Daniel Eigher being part of a larger tracted granted to the said Daniel Eigher by a Proprietary Patent.

One other Tract of Warranted Land Containing 50 Acres or thereabouts conveyed to the said Michael Witman by John Schrite.

GEORGE STEWART.

Received into the secretary's Office the 15th of May 1779.

Francis Sanderson.

Francis Sanderson was a tinsmith, coppersmith, and Sabine says also a lawyer practicing both at the Lancaster and Baltimore Bars. He was at first a Whig, but in May, 1775, went over to the side of King George. Being called to account, he recanted. In October, 1775, he again espoused the side of the Royalists. He was then arrested and sent by the Council of safety to the Provincial Congress, where he was reprimanded and bound over in the sum of £1,000. From a copy of the first issue of the Maryland Journal, now the Baltimore American, dated Friday, August 20, 1773, I quote the following advertisement of this slippery fellow Sanderson:

"FRANCIS SANDERSON."

"Coppersmith From Lancaster, living in Gay street, Baltimoretown, a few Doors above Mr. Andrew Steiger.

"Makes and sells all sorts of Copper Work, viz., stilts of all sizes, fish and wash kettles, copper and brass brewing kettles, sauce pans, coffee and chocolate pots, stew pans and Dutch ovens. He sells any of the above articles as cheap as they can be imported from England, and carries on his business in Lancaster as usual.

He likewise carries on the Tin Business in all its branches. Country Shop Keepers may be supplied either by wholesale or retail, and all orders sent from the country shall be carefully executed."

The Reine Brothers.

John and George Reine lived in Earl township. John appears to have been the more important personage of the two. He owned a mill, located on Mill Creek, long after and perhaps still known as Roland's Mill. When his property was seized he appealed to the Provincial Council, on August 25, 1779, praying for some indulgence in regard to his estate. The Council "Resolved, That the Conduct and Circumstances of the Petitioner do not entitle him to any indulgence from this Board; therefore the Petition is rejected." Sabine says that in 1781 Peter Miller interposed in behalf of John Reine and endeavored to make terms by which he could safely surrender himself and submit to trial. The correspondence with the President of the Council was, however, without results. Both brothers were attainted and lost their property & confiscation.

My search among the unpublished archives at Harrisburg several years ago was rewarded by the finding of the following report, made by George Stewart, one of the State Agents for confiscated estates in this locality. It gives a full inventory of all the lands, goods and chattels of the Reine brothers and has never been published:

George Reine's Estate.

Inventory of goods and chattels taken at George Rhines, Miller, in Earl Township Lancaster County February 17th 1778 who fled from his

country and took refuge among the British Troops vitz.—

In the front room upstairs 33 bushels of Wheat To 1 bedstead 5 chairs 1 Table and 1 Spinnet.

In the backroom upstairs 4 bedsteads and 1 chest.

In the Garret 1 Waggon cover 10 sickles 1 lanthorn.

A quantity of corn one sacking bottom.

In a stove room 2 chairs and a table and 1 clock.

In the back room one bed one table three chairs.

In another back room one bed and bedstead.

In the kitchen one pot one pan one pr. of steelyards 3 Tubs and sundry other vessels.

In the Mill on the upper floor 100 bushels of Wheat.

The lower floor sundry carpenter tools.

In the smiths shop sundry smiths tools vitz. One pair of Belloses, Anvil Bick-Iron Vice hammers pinchers. To 1 old Mill saw

Ten horned cattle three horses and a quantity of hay. A quantity of Indian corn a quantity of sheaff Wheat One windmill and cutting box.

One waggon one slay one waggon bed 15 sheep and 7 hogs Two ploughs and one hand screw and one harrow.

Geers for two horses one log chain 1 hand axe and one harrow.

A quantity of Boards and scantling at the saw mill and a mill screw.

John Reine's Estate.

Inventory of the goods and chattels taken at John Rhynes Farmer in Earl Township Lancaster County and took refuge among the British Troops vitz.

In the front room 1 Looking glass 1 Table & 6 Chairs.

In the back room two beds and bedsteads and one Chest.

In the backroom upstairs two beds and bedsteads.

One bed stead and wool wheel.

In the cellar three tubs and other vessels old.

A quantity of hay two Mares and two horned Cattel.

One plantation waggon—one swine.

A quantity of wheat and Rye in the Ground.

The Reine Brothers were prisoners in Philadelphia in May, 1778.

The Reine Plantation was sold to Charles Lyng, of Philadelphia, merchant, on August 26, 1779, for £22,200, subject to the dower claims of the widow of Michael Reine, deceased.

Col. James Crawford bought the mill and paid £30,000 for the same.

A query here suggests itself. May this man Reine, not Michael Whitman, be the person around whom tradition has woven that pretty story about the successful intercession of Peter Miller, the Prior of the Ephrata cloister, with General Washington for his life? That story has often been told with many details, but upon what authority I know not. Rev. Peter Miller did intercede with the State authorities in behalf of Henry Martin and Christian Weaver, convicted of misdemeanors. He seems to have been everybody's friend, and, perhaps, did intercede for all four of the persons mentioned.

The fifth man, Ingelholt, was a blacksmith.

Holtsinger I have not been able to learn much about, except that he was attainted and upon his failure to appear and stand trial his property was seized as that of a

traitor, confiscated and sold. He does not seem to have been a man of much substance, his property realizing only £56. 13. 6.

Henry Skyles' property realized £122. 5. 6, one bay horse selling for £23 and another for £42. 10.

Of Henry Rutter and Amos Williams I have found nothing of a biographical value. Agent Stewart calls them atrocious villains and says they were with the enemy.

Agent Hall seized a tract of land containing 380 acres, formerly the property of Thomas McKee. I have found no documents further relating to this matter and have learned nothing of McKee.

Isaac Gray seems to have been the most inconsequential man in the list. His entire estate realized only £39. 10 to the Commonwealth.

Christian Voight

Christian Voight, a Lancaster Apothecary, was also attainted, but what was done with him I have not been able to find out. He was a very prominent citizen. The following letter by Agent Hall shows how Loyalist Charles Voight's property was taken from him:

"To His Excellency, the President and Honorable, the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

"I, Charles Hall, agent for the sale of Forfeited Estates for the county of Lancaster, do hereby Respectfully certify on the 11th day of January, 1782, at the Court House in the Borough of Lancaster, I exposed to sale at Public Vendue, agreeable to the resolve of the Hon. Council of the 8th

Day of October 1781, a certain two story Brick Messuage and lot of Ground, situate in the said Borcugh of Lancaster, heretofore the Estate of Charles Voight, of said Borough, and by his Attainder of High Treason, forfeited to the use of the said Commonwealth, when George Groff of said Borough Bought the same for the sum of Five Hundred Pounds, five shillings, he being the highest and best bidder.

"Witness my hand and seal this 15th day of January, 1782.

"CHARLES HALL, Agt."

Agent Hall seized and sold a house and five acres of land on the Susquehanna, belonging to James Rankin, along with a ferry near Ester Town.

This man Rankin³ belongs to York county quite as much as to Lancas-

³An odd coincidence. On the same evening this paper was read (Friday, September 4), and at about the same hour, a little circumstance occurred at the old home of James Rankin, in Springetsbury Manor, York county. Rankin, it would seem, was a man of much wealth, and, being a Tory, was involved in or charged with a conspiracy to bring British troops across the Susquehanna at the time when the Continental Congress was sitting at York. The fact becoming known, he sought safety in flight and went to England, leaving behind him all the treasure he was believed to be possessed of. Several years after the war his son came to York, and it is thought secured the treasure his father had buried. Upon his arrival there he seemed possessed of few means, but later spent money in a very lavish manner. Several years ago an English guinea was found in one of the Rankin fields, and that revived the tradition of Rankin and his wealth. It caused a rush of treasure seekers to the place, and the search has not yet subsided. On the night of the reading of this paper the old farm house on the Rankin place was visited by a number of these fortune hunters. Men with lanterns and picks were on the spot and the next day it was found holes had been dug in many places and boards removed from the floor. The query that suggests itself is, did they get the cash?

ter. He was a man of considerable property, and resided in York county.

In 1776 he admitted in writing to having publicly misrepresented and personally insulted the Whig Committee of that county, asked to be forgiven and promised "on the faith and honor of an honest man, to respect the Continental Congress and behave as a good citizen." In 1781 he was in New York, Chairman of the Board of Refugees. He was attainted and his property confiscated. Later a part of it was restored to a son and daughter. As late as 1852 a bill was introduced in the State Legislature to restore to his heirs that portion which had not been given up. Nothing came of it.

In addition to the persons who were attainted of treason in Lancaster county, and whose properties were confiscated and sold, there was another class, which, because of the milder character of their conduct, were accorded more generous consideration. The Rev. Thomas Barton, pastor of St. James' Episcopal Church, in Lancaster, was one of these. His loyalist proclivities were not disguised nor denied. But he was a man of high character and took no part in the contest going on. He was allowed to sell his property and retire within the British Mines, at New York. Colonel John Connally was a notorious Tory, a native of Manor township, continually intriguing in the western part of the State, arrested and held as a prisoner, and yet his name does not appear in the list published. He probably had no estate that could be reached. William Webb, of this city, was also a well-known Loyalist, but a prudent one, and was, in consequence, never molested. Still other Lancaster

county Loyalists could be named whose views were well known, but whose conduct was not such as to bring them under the ban.

The U. P. a Beneficiary.

A somewhat curious circumstance and one not generally known, I believe, is the fact that the University of Pennsylvania was made the beneficiary of at least some of the money derived from the sale of confiscated estates. Here is part of the Act of Assembly legalizing such donations:

"That it shall and may be lawful for the Supreme Executive Council of the State to reserve such and so many of the confiscated estates yet unsold and unappropriated as to them shall appear necessary in order to create a certain fund for the maintenance of the provost, vice provost, masters and assistants, and to uphold and preserve the charitable school of the said University. Provided always That the yearly income of such estates so reserved and appropriated to the use of the University do not exceed the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, computing wheat at the rate of ten shillings per bushel."⁴

This obscure appropriation has no doubt been the foundation of the claim that the University has always been a State institution, and under that flimsy pretext has in recent years fastened itself on the State Treasury to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars annually.

Final Sale Ordered.

On December 18, 1780, the Fifth General Assembly of the Commonwealth passed an act, one section of which reads as follows: "All confiscated estates not already sold or

⁴Statutes at Large, Vol. 10, p. 24.

appropriated to public use shall on the first day of July next, or as soon after as may be convenient, be disposed of at public sale for the highest price, which sale the Supreme Executive Council are hereby directed to order the agents of confiscated estates to make, giving due notice thereof, and the said agents are hereby directed to receive in payment for the estates which they shall sell, as aforesaid, specie or bills of credit of this State equivalent thereto, or the certificates aforesaid, which sales shall be made upon the same terms of payment as have heretofore been directed in the sale of other confiscated estates."⁵

Under that act one of the local agents, Charles Hall, sent a communication, of which the following is a copy, to the General Assembly. The original copy of this report I also found among the State papers at Harrisburg and hitherto unpublished:

Lancaster, February Ye 8th, 1781.

Sir:

Agreeable to the Order of Your Honorable Board of the 16th of January I herewith send an account of the Confiscated Estates that remain unsold in this County, with a description and Valuation of them as near as I can first, a Plantation situuate in Mannor Township call'd the Indian Town, said to contain five Hundred Acres, with two log Houses, Barn, and the Land very good, and generally thought to be worth twenty Pounds pr. acre, seiz'd on by Order of Council —second, thirty-seven or eight lots of ground, situate within the Borough call'd Mussers town, late the Estate of Doctr. John Kersley, the Lots are on ground rent at thirteen Shilling Sterling a Lot, no Rents has been paid

⁵Ibid, Vol. 10, p. 234.

for three Years past, this was seiz'd on by Order of Council—likewise—

third, A Stony piece of Land adjoining Rankin's Ferry, the Quantity unknown but worth very little. Doctr John Harris claims it by virtue of an Old right, I understand he has entered his claim before the Honourable the Judges of the Supreme Court, and has had a piece adjudged to him in York County oposite to this, one the same Claim—

Fourth, Rankin's Ferry, I formerly sent a copy of an agreement between Rankin and John Cornhorse to Council, which shews they were to be in partnership in the Land and profits of the Ferry.

that Cornhorse had Received no money from Rankin, which he prov'd by shewing Rankin's Bond of the same date with the Agreement, and further says he has been at all the expense of the improvements.

His Excellency when in Lancaster said he thought it was as well to drop it—

Fifth, a small gravel island in Susquehanah which Rankin took up for a fishing place, but is very poor, even for that, and would sell for very little if anything more than will pay the Cryer.

Sixth, Eighty seven Acres of Land in Denegall Township late the Estate of Jacob Boyers, the Valuation you will see by the inclos'd Copy of an Agreement, the Oreginal with the Deeds being in the Hands of Martin Nessley of Mountjoy Township, who will not deliver them up without being compelled to it, Abraham Ream, the purchaser wants a Deed, I shall be glad if Council will send me instructions what to demand if the sale is allow'd to be good, I told him I

Settle the Accounts of the Committee
thought he could not expect a Deed till he paid the two hundred and twenty-five Pounds either in Specia, or State Money.

Seventh, Abraham Bare Lately attainted, had his Father alive at the time he Join'd the Enemy who since died intestate, leaving a considerable Estate, the Oldest son administer'd but has made no Return to the Office. I therefore call'd an Orphans Court, and got a Citation for him to appear and settle at the next General Orphan's Court. I gave the Sub Sheriff some directions when he went to serve it, he brought the inclosed paper which shews there is something considerable as it is not likely they have allow'd him more than the Law will,

Eighth, Thomas Carr, was sometime ago convicted of Misprison of treason at Cumberland Court it is but lately I got intelligence of it and have not yet been able to make Seizure, he was possess'd of either two or three fifths of five Hundred acres of Land in this County on Conewago Creek on the road leading to Norris's Ferry. I hear he has made his escape from Cumberland Goal, I shall make further inquirey about it and if I find it so shall give Council notice of it.

I am with Due Respect
Your Excelency's Very Humble
Servant

CHAS HALL.

P. S. John Musser
is selling learge
quantitys of locust
post from the
Indian Town Land.

Charles Hall to President Reed.

Feb. 26, 1780.

I have settled my Account with the Commissioners appointed by Law to

Settle the Accounts of the Commissioners for Confiscated Property, and have their Certificate that I am in Debt one Hundred and four pounds, seven shillings to the State. I have Paid to the State Treasurer Eighty-eight thousand four Hundred and forty nine Pounds, one shilling and three pence.

CHAS. HALL.

Entered into the hall and winter room at 8 o'clock evening. There was a good attendance of the members in the Society's room in the Sixth Library Building, and the season's work was begun most auspiciously.

In the absence of President Steinman, Dr. Joseph H. Dubois, one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair. The other officers were present.

John J. Bowman, whose name had been proposed for membership at the June meeting, was duly elected, and the names of Rev. Eugene Shippard and Rev. George Israel Browne were proposed. These applications will be acted upon at the October meeting.

Librarian Seiner reported the following donations received since the last session:

History of Egypt Church, from the Lough County Historical Society; photograph of the Elizabethtown office from H. P. Dillendorfer, Government publications, from D. M. Scott; Nos. 6 and 7 of papers read before the Frankfort Historical Society; Annual report of the Grand Rapids Public Library, from S. H. Rauch; Centennial Number of the Washington, Pa. Reporter; Anthology of Lydia M. Johnson, Volume I; from R. Winder Johnson, Esq., of Philadelphia; Story of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Infantry, Pennsylvania State Library; The Graptoites of New York, New York State Library; *ancient*.

Minutes of September Meeting.

Lancaster, Sept. 4, 1908.

After the summer adjournment of two months the Lancaster County Historical Society resumed its meetings for the fall and winter on Friday evening. There was a good attendance of the members in the Society's room in the Smith Library Building, and the season's work was begun most auspiciously.

In the absence of President Steinman, Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs, one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair. The other officers were present.

John J. Bowman, whose name had been proposed for membership at the June meeting, was duly elected, and the names of Rev. Eugene Shippen and Rev. George Israel Browne were proposed. These applications will be acted upon at the October meeting.

Librarian Sener reported the following donations received since the last session:

History of Egypt Church, from the Lehigh County Historical Society; photograph of the Ellmaker law office, from H. F. Diffenderffer; Government publications, from D. M. Swarr; Nos. 6 and 7 of papers read before the Frankfort Historical Society; annual report of the Grand Rapids Public Library, from S. H. Ranck; Centennial Number of the Washington, Pa., Reporter; Ancestry of Rosalie M. Johnson, Volume 2, from R. Winder Johnson, Esq., of Philadelphia; Story of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Infantry, Pennsylvania State Library; The Graptolites of New York, New York State Library; souvenirs

programme and badge of M. W. A. Convention, G. F. K. Erisman; History of the York Rifle Company, Aug. Loucks; History of the Reformed Church, Hamlin, Pa., from Rev. C. A. Butz; old railroad circular, Monroe B. Hirsh; old Columbia sketch, George Hergenrother; Reunion of Sixteeners, J. O. K. Roberts; two local postal cards, D. B. Landis; ten statistical volumes from Pennsylvania State Library; number of exchanges; Kittochtinny Historical Society, 1898-1908; Federation State Historical Societies Report, 1908.

Under the head of new business, Mr. C. A. Burrows introduced a resolution that a committee be appointed to co-operate with the public officials of the county, city, borough and township to secure an observance next year of the settlement of Lancaster county in 1709. After some discussion the resolution was referred to the Executive Committee.

Dr. R. K. Buehrle brought up the subject of the erection of a memorial hall, where the society could hold its meetings and where a museum for the preservation of curios and data relating to the history of the city and county could be maintained. He proposed that a committee be appointed to co-operate with the G. A. R. posts of the city, which have been agitating the erection of such a hall.

The matter was discussed by several of the members, one suggesting that the society take steps to have a building of its own erected, but, as no motion was before the meeting, the presiding officer ordered the matter dropped.

The question of the society scrap book, in which clippings of historical and other events relating to Lancaster county could be preserved, was discussed. A large book has been

prepared by Miss Martha B. Clark, the Corresponding Secretary, who will be its custodian, and the members were invited to contribute matter for it.

The paper of the evening was on "The Loyalists of Lancaster County," prepared by F. R. Diffenderffer, and read by Mrs. A. K. Hostetter. The action of the State against the tories was given in detail, and then the names of the men against whom process of attainder was issued and whose estates were confiscated and sold were given. The number proceeded against was only sixteen, but there were many times sixteen tories in the county who were prudent enough to speak and act so discreetly that the State authorities never proceeded against them except to keep an eye on them. A number of documents from the unpublished archives at Harrisburg were quoted.

The paper was of unusual interest, and will be a valuable addition to the society's publications.

Miss Clark read an old petition which was unearthed in the Court House. It was from the taxpayers of Cocalico township, and was dated 1782. In that year a very heavy hail-storm visited that section of the county, destroying all the crops, and the citizens appealed to the County Commissioners for exemption from the payment of taxes and rents for that year.

After discussion of the papers, which proved of considerable interest, and a motion to have Mr. Diffenderffer's paper published in the proceedings of the society, the meetings adjourned.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA
1908.

263-76

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OCTOBER 2, 1908.

Columbia Ancients

BY SAMUEL EVAN

- 287

Buffaloes in Pennsylvania

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

BY JAMES M. SWANK

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Revolutionary Soldiers at Donegal

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BY SAMUEL E. EVAN

BUFFALOES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

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REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS AT DONEGAL.

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AN OLD PETITION.

MINUTES OF OCTOBER MEETING.

VOL. XII. NO. 8.

LANCASTER, PA.

REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.

1908.

283-86

COLUMBIA ANCIENTS

Since the death of Samuel Evans,
late one of our most prominent and
learned members, various manuscripts
of an important historical nature
have been found in his late library.

Columbia Ancients	- 287
By SAMUEL EVANS, Esq.	
Buffaloes in Pennsylvania	- 295
By JAMES M. SWANK	
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The town of Columbia, its name was so well known to all in the Northern part of the state, that it became and still is a noted manufacturing and dwelling houses and embarked in business. Not long after its erection lumber and produce sought a market by the river. Keel boats could not descend the stream below Columbia; at least, this was made the port where the provisions and produce were stored, to accommodate which large warehouses were erected along the river bank. The one erected by John Webb was one of the first. A canal was made in front of it, and along its southern side keel-boats found a haven and were unloaded without the risk they had to undergo during a flood. I will give the names and occupations of some of those who resided here in or before 1830.

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Some idea can be formed of the business along the river when it is known that there were no less than 1500 vessels of all descriptions to be found at Columbia.

COLUMBIA ANCIENTS

Since the death of Samuel Evans, late one of our most prominent and learned members, various manuscripts of an important historical nature have been found at his late residence and kindly allowed the use of by his widow and his daughter, and among them the following unpublished matter is considered as being valuable, and, it is believed, should be kept among our printed papers as a contribution by him, even though posthumous. In this particular manuscript he has set forth the following:

In the year 1787, when Samuel Wright laid out the town of Columbia, its fame was so well known to the intelligent and better class of citizens in the Eastern part of the State that a number came and at once erected substantial dwelling-houses and embarked in business. Not long after its erection lumber and produce sought a market by the river. Keel boats could not descend the stream below Columbia; at least, this was made the port where the provisions and produce were stored, to accommodate which large warehouses were erected along the river bank. The one erected by John Evans was one of the first. A canal was made in front of it; and along its southern side keel-boats found a haven and were unloaded without the risk they had to undergo during a freshet. I will give the names and occupations of some of those who resided here in or before 1830.

Some idea can be found of the business along the river when it is known that it was not an unusual occurrence for from 1,500 to 2,000 arks and rafts and a large number of keel-boats to come to Columbia upon one freshet. A large number of the former, of course, passed down the river.

The legal profession has not been neglected, and, for a town not a shire-town, she has had her share of these gentlemen. They were as follows:

Samuel Bethel was admitted to the Bar in 1795. He probably did not devote much time to the law. I believe there was a Mr. Wright, who opened a law office a short time in Columbia between 1814 and 1820. Ishbel Green, a descendant of a long line of prominent jurists of New Jersey, and later Chancellor of that State, came to Columbia about 1829 or 1830 and practiced law about five years.

Samuel Shock was admitted to the Bar at Harrisburg in 1820, and practiced law successfully for twenty years in Dauphin and in the surrounding counties.

Judge William Atlee resided where E. K. Smith lived. This was ninety years ago (1788). Judge Bradford resided at the First National Bank forty-eight years ago (1830). Other than these I cannot recall the names of any of the legal fraternity before 1844.

John F. Houston was admitted in 1844. His history and life are so well known to us that I need not recall them. Davis E. Bruner, son of Abraham Bruner, was also admitted in 1844. He was elected a Justice of the Peace in 1857. Stewart Elliott was admitted in 1844. William E. Barber, son of John Barber, studied law with James Cooper, and was ad-

witted to practice in Lancaster in 1844. He opened a law office in Columbia for a few years. Afterwards he moved near West Chester. Thos. E. Cochran was also admitted in 1844 in York county and in Lancaster in 1858.

Frederick Gossler, son of Jacob Gossler, was admitted in 1845. He was a young man when he died, but was rapidly rising in his profession. His brother, Philip Gossler, was admitted in 1847, but after practicing law for a few years abandoned the profession for a more lucrative occupation.

H. M. North was admitted in 1849. He studied law with Joseph Carey, at Berlin, in Union county. He was esteemed one of the safest lawyers in the State and occupied a very prominent position at the Bar.

William H. Elder, son of Michael Elder, was admitted in 1857; I. E. Hackenburg, in 1852; Joseph W. Fisher, who is now (1878) a Judge in Wyoming Territory, in 1856; Peter L. Hackenburg, brother of I. E., in 1856; Hiram B. Essick, who practiced law for some years in Monroe, Louisiana, and afterwards in Columbia, in 1862; D. Duncan Cottrell, in 1864; D. J. M. Toop, in 1866; Andrew J. Kauffman, in 1866; Major J. F. Fireauff, in 1868; J. W. Yocom, about 1872; William B. Given, in 1877; Brainard Case in 1876, and Thomas Knite, in 1878.

The members of the Legislature from Columbia from the date of the settlement to the present time (1878) were:

John Wright from 1727 to 1748; Samuel Blunston, from 1732 to 1745; James Wright (son of John Wright), from 1745 to 1770; Gen. Thomas Bowde, from 1794 to 1797 (he was also a member of Congress in 1800);

John Haldeman, father of Peter and Christian, in 1791 and 1792; Jacob Strickler, father of the late Jacob, in 1791 and 1801; Samuel Bethel, in 1808 and 1809; John Forry, from 1816 to 1828; James Wright, Jr., son of John Wright (who was James W.'s uncle), in 1821 and 1822; Christian Brenneman, father of Henry, in 1814; Dr. R. E. Cochran and Samuel Shock (who were also members of the Constitutional Convention of 1837), in 1836; John Barber, father of William E. Barber, in 1828; Theodore Cochran, brother of Thomas E., in 1844 and 1845; J. W. Fisher, in 1848, and to the Senate in 1866; Daniel Herr, in 1852; James B. Cowden, in 1853; H. M. North, in 1854; C. S. Kauffman, in 1856, and to the Senate in 1878; Amos S. Green, in 1858 and 1859; James Myers, in 1861, and E. K. Smith, in 1863.

Sheriffs of Lancaster county were elected from Columbia as follows: Robert Barber, in 1729; John Mathiot, in 1818, and Jacob S. Strine, in 1878.

Clerks of the Orphans' Court were elected from Columbia as follows: Washington Righter, in 1844; Register of Wills, Samuel Blunston, in 1729; and Clerks of Quarter Sessions, Samuel Evans, in 1857, and S. S. Clair, in 1876.

The following newspapers have been printed in Columbia from time to time:

The Susquehanna Waterman was published by Samuel L. Wilson, in 1811. It was first printed in a small frame house on Locust street, above the Franklin House; afterwards in the house owned by Mrs. Richards.

The Columbian was published by William Greer in 1819.

The Monitor was published by

William F. Houston, father of the late John F. Houston, in the year 1823.

The Courant was published by Sheaff & Heinith in 1829. This was the centennial year of the formation of Lancaster county. I can say nothing more about it.

The Spy began in 1830. The editors in succession were, John L. Boswell, Preston B. Elder, Theodore D. Cochran, E. Beatty, James Patton, Patton & Maxton, Charles J. Barnitz, Barnitz & Gossler, J. G. L. Brown, Eshleman & Camerer, Stephen Green, Westbrook & Spangler, Coleman J. Bull, Samuel Wright, A. M. Rambo and J. W. Yocom.

Charrick Westbrook established a paper called the Columbian about the year 1849. William H. Spangler afterwards became a partner. They purchased the Spy and merged their paper into it. In 1840 Thomas Taylor published the Columbian. N. B. Wolf was editor. It was a tariff paper.

A spicy campaign paper, called the Protector, was published by Eli Bowen in 1840. Mr. Bowen was editor, compositor, pressman and carrier, all combined. For the first edition he received more than 100 paid-up subscriptions; and was assaulted by James Cameron on account of some caustic editorial strictures. This activity and ingenuity in repelling the assault compelled Mr. Cameron to "haul off." The affair was a good advertisement.

The Columbia Herald was established by Young & Grier in 1866; and afterwards was run by Grier & Moderate and Grier & Risk, and afterwards by Hayes Grier.

The Waterspout, a temperance paper, was published in 1840 by Jacob Klinedinst, and edited by Theodore D. Cochran. Twenty-eight numbers were issued.

The Pennsylvania Courant was published by Henry Montgomery in 1837 and afterwards published by Montgomery & Beatty, and by E. Beatty alone.

The Democrat was begun by Hayes Grier in 1872; the Daily Telegram by S. Taft in 1869, and the Underwriter by George Young, Jr., in 1874.

Columbia has been a prolific field for journalism, and the Spy, Herald and Courant are still sustained at this time. The Spy has furnished writers for more pretentious journals in various sections of the country. There have been a number of able writers of prose and poetry, and some have been authors of no little note, who were at one time connected with these papers.

Banks.

There was a branch of the Pennsylvania Bank at Columbia for a short time. The Columbia Bank and Bridge Company were also here. And there are others of a more recent date.

River Pilots.

This was a dangerous and exciting business. Scarcely a season passed without the loss of one or more watermen. Those that I can remember were: William C. Cornwell, Samuel Eberlein, Barney Brown, Frank Knight, Abe Hisinger, Thomas Jackson, John Dockard, Charles Odell, Joseph Tyson, John Benett, Ellis Hughes, Benj. Haldeman, Joseph Wade, John Erny, Reuben Mullison, Thomas Groome, Samuel Long, Grant Hughes, George Wike, Henry Sauerbeer, John Albright, Oliver McDonald and Hugh Boyle.

Tavern Keepers.

In Colonial and Revolutionary times and for many years thereafter this

was an influential class, generally, and in a great measure shaped political affairs. Some of the most respectable and intelligent citizens of those times kept houses of entertainment for man and horse.

I think James Wright was the first tavern keeper at Wright's Ferry; at least he took out a license in 1740. His brother, John, took out a license to keep a tavern in 1733, at the western end of the Ferry. There was a tavern here before 1740, also. Theodore Lowdon kept the Ferry House in 1765.

The following kept taverns in Columbia at the times now set forth: John Wright, in 1790, '91, '92 and '93; John Zimmerman, in 1792; Emor Jeffries, from 1795 to 1808; Theobold Roth, from 1795 to 1799; Henry Brubaker, from 1797 to 1802; Fred. Stump, from 1797 to 1802; Edward Hughes, from 1798 to 1805; Jacob Comfort, from 1799 to 1809; Ulerich Tanner, in 1800; John Eberly, from 1801 to 1804; John Smith, in 1801; Joseph Body, in 1805; Charles Grau, from 1804 to 1810; John Gonter, from 1804 to 1808; David Barnum, from 1804 to 1808; Barnum was the founder of the famous Barnum Hotel in Baltimore.

Philip Gossler from 1805 to 1809 kept the Ferry, and I believe he was the first person who sold stove coal in Columbia. I have heard Samuel Waits, who was employed by Mr. Gossler, say that he has seen as many as 150 wagons waiting to be ferried over the river. Each wagon was numbered, and a day and a-half was consumed in ferrying them over. Mr. Gossler kept tavern in York for several years before he came to the Ferry. His son, Jacob Gossler, who married a daughter of Fred. Stump, also kept tavern for many years at the corner of Walnut and Locust streets.

Taverns were also kept by Jacob Slough, from 1805 to 1808 (he was wounded at St. Clair's defeat); Barbara Eberly, in 1805; Moses Montgomery, from 1805 to 1809 (he was one of the first elders of the Presbyterian Church at this place); Joseph Jeffries, son of Emor, from 1806 to 1809; Mary Jeffries in 1808; Joseph Ring, from 1807 to 1810 (he ran a line of stages between Baltimore and Lancaster); Tempest Wilson, in 1809-10; Abraham Brenneman, from 1808 to 1822; Archibald Hudders, in 1809; Samuel Fips, in 1809, and Ezekiel Williams, in 1810.

A number of these landlords kept tavern after the dates I have given, but I can not find a record of them.

It is a curious fact that the existence of the buffalo in Pennsylvania in colonial times or at any time before the coming of the white settlers can not be proved by any evidence based on the reservation of buffalo skulls or whole skeletons which have been found within the borders of the State. They are not to be seen anywhere. Prof. Spencer P. Baird has mentioned the existence of fossil remains found near Carlisle, which, he says, may have been buffalo bones. Other authorities definitely record the finding of bones in Pennsylvania. In Rhoads' "Mammals of Pennsylvania and New Jersey" (1908) he mentions buffalo bones which have been found in Pennsylvania and are preserved at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. Other proofs that the buffalo once existed in this State are abundant.

Early French explorers in the region south of the Great Lakes mention the presence of "wild bulls," "wild steers" and "vast herds of wild

BUFFALOES IN PENNSYLVANIA

The following brief article on the Buffalo in Pennsylvania is Chapter IX of a book published in Philadelphia under the title of "Progressive Pennsylvania." The author is Mr. James M. Swank, who for thirty-five years has been the general manager of the American Iron and Steel Association, and editor of its publications. He is our highest authority on matters pertaining to the iron and steel industry in the United States:

It is a curious fact that the existence of the buffalo in Pennsylvania in colonial times or at any time before the coming of the white settlers can not be proved by any evidence based on the reservation of buffalo skulls or whole skeletons which have been found within the borders of the State. They are not to be seen anywhere. Prof. Spencer F. Bard has mentioned the existence of fossil remains found near Carlisle, which, he says, may have been buffalo bones. Other authorities definitely record the finding of bones in Pennsylvania. In Rhoads' "Mammals of Pennsylvania and New Jersey" (1903) he mentions buffalo bones which have been found in Pennsylvania and are preserved at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. Other proofs that the buffalo once existed in this State are abundant.

Early French explorers in the region south of the Great Lakes mention the presence of "wild bulls," "wild beeves" and "vast herds of wild

cattle" in the territory they visited, and some of these buffaloes were seen on the southern shore of Lake Erie, which would include Pennsylvania. Vaudreuil, describing this lake in 1718, says: "There is no need of fasting on either side of this lake; deer are to be found there in great abundance; buffaloes are found on the south but not on the north side." Col. James Smith was captured by the Indians in Pennsylvania in 1755, when a boy, and taken to Ohio, where he remained a captive until 1759. Forty years after his release he published a circumstantial account of his captivity, which is an American classic. In this account Col. Smith frequently mentions buffaloes as forming part of the staple diet of the Indians with whom he lived in the eastern part of Ohio. He killed one himself. In 1770 Washington visited what is now known as West Virginia, and in the journal of his trip he speaks of receiving from "an old acquaintance," Kyashuta, "a quarter of very fine buffalo." He also mentions a buffalo path, "the tracks of which we saw." On November 2, recording his exploration of the Great Kanawha river, he writes: "Killed five buffaloes and wounded some others, three deer, &c. This country abounds in buffaloes." He says of a creek near which he encamped that "on this creek are many buffaloes, according to the Indians' account." In 1784 Washington paid a visit to Western Maryland, Western Pennsylvania, and what is now West Virginia, and in his diary of that journey he refers to buffalo paths and salt licks frequented by buffaloes in the vicinity of Morgantown, which is only a few miles south of the Pennsylvania line.

When a young man, soon after the close of the Revolution, Albert Gal-

latin was engaged in land explorations in the western part of Virginia. In an article on the Indians and their means of subsistence, contributed by Mr. Gallatin in 1848 to the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, that eminent man, referring to buffaloes, says: "The name of Buffalo creek, between Pittsburg and Wheeling, proves that they had spread thus far eastwardly when that country was first visited by the Anglo-American. In my time (1784-1785) they were abundant on the southern side of the Ohio, between the Great and the Little Kanawha. I have during eight months lived principally on their flesh." He also says of the buffaloes that "they had at a former period penetrated east of the Allegheny Mountains."

Dr. Bausman, in his "History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania," quotes Colonel Brodhead as writing to Washington in 1780 that he is "sending hunters to the Little Kenawha to kill buffaloes," and in Craig's "History of Pittsburgh" we read that Col. Brodhead, in a letter to Rev. D. Zeisberger, under date of December 2. 1780, "proposes that he should send fifteen or twenty best hunters to Little Kenawha to kill buffalo, elks and bears, to be salted down in canoes made for that purpose." Dr. Bausman also quotes this passage from Schoolcraft: "There was added for all the region west of the Alleghenies the bison of the West (*Bos Americanus*), the prominent object and glory of the chase for the tribes of these latitudes." The common name of the bison is buffalo.

In General Peter Muhlenberg's journal of his trip to the Falls of Ohio in 1784 he writes, under date of April 5, that the boat on which he had taken passage on the Ohio river "came to

shore on the Indian side," the Ohio side, where "a hunting party turned out and killed one buffalo and one deer, but both very poor." On the 6th the General writes that his boat again landed "on the Indian shore" and adds that "we killed three buffaloes, but found them too poor to eat, so that we determined to kill no more." He further says that "the winter must have been very severe here and hard for the game, as we have this day found several deer, one bear, and four buffaloes dead in the woods, which seem to have perished through want." This is the latest reference to the presence of buffaloes in Ohio that we have seen.

The foregoing quotations justify beyond all doubt the inference that the buffalo was an inhabitant at least of Western Pennsylvania. It is not to be presumed that it would frequent the territory immediately west and south of Pennsylvania and not cross over the boundary lines.

That buffaloes frequented the salt springs in Northwestern Pennsylvania is shown in the following extract from a letter written by the English traveler, Thomas Ashe, at Erie, in April, 1806. He says: "An old man, one of the first settlers of this country, built his log house on the borders of a salt spring. He informed me that for the first several seasons the buffaloes paid him their visits regularly; they traveled in single file, following at equal distances from each other, forming droves on their arrival of 300." He supposed that there were no less than 10,000 in the neighborhood of the spring. And he further says that in the first and second years this old man, with some companions, killed 600 or 700 of these noble creatures for the sake of their skins. He also

says that buffalo bones had been found in large quantities on Buffalo creek, but he does not locate the creek. Fort Le Boeuf, in Erie county, built in 1753, meant Buffalo Fort.

In his valuable monograph on the "Extermination of the American Bison," William T. Hornaday says that in the region between the Allegheny river and the west branch of the Susquehanna "there were at one time thousands of buffaloes." In support of this opinion he quotes from Professor J. A. Allen's "American Bison," and from other monographs by the same author.

Prof. Allen refers to Buffalo creek, "which empties into the eastern end of Lake Erie," and to other evidences that buffaloes "once existed in Western New York." Hornaday adds that "from the eastern end of Lake Erie the boundary of the bison's habitat extends south in Western Pennsylvania to a marsh called Buffalo swamp on a map published by Peter Kalm in 1771." He quotes Allen as saying of this swamp that it "is indicated as situated.....near the heads of the Licking and Toby's creeks, apparently the streams now called Oil creek and Clarion creek." It was in this locality that "there were at one time thousands of buffaloes."

It is a reasonable inference that many places in Pennsylvania were not given buffalo names merely through caprice. Buffalo Mills and mountain in Bedford county, Buffalo Mountain and Valley in Union county, Buffalo creeks in Washington, Perry, Union, and other counties, and Buffalo townships in several counties in Central and Western Pennsylvania are *prima facie* evidence that buffaloes had once frequented the localities to which their

name has been given. There is a tradition that the last buffalo in Bedford county was killed at Buffalo Mills. Rhoads says that there are sure proofs of the existence of the buffalo along the Casselman river in Somerset county. The last buffalo in Pennsylvania was probably killed in Union county about 1790, as will presently be shown.

Some of the buffalo localities referred to above are in Central Pennsylvania, east of the Alleghenies. In Prof. Hornaday's map illustrating his monograph he indicates that the range of the buffalo in Pennsylvania extended as far east as Harrisburg. Neither William Penn nor any other early writer mentions the buffalo in Eastern Pennsylvania, though Gabriel Thomas in 1698 says that the buffalo was found in that province. Hulbert often mentions buffalo paths in Central and Western Pennsylvania.

Professor Allen carries farther eastward his investigations of the presence of the buffalo in Pennsylvania, and finds proofs of its existence in Union county in the Susquehanna Valley. He quotes from a letter written on March 14, 1876, by Prof. Hamlin, in which letter Loomis copies as follows from a letter received by him from J. Wolfe: "Since seeing you this morning I have had a conversation with Dr. Beck, and he informs me that buffaloes, at an early day, were very abundant in this valley, and that the valley received its name from that circumstance. The doctor received his information from Col. John Kelly, who was a prominent and early settler in this valley. Kelly told the Doctor that he had shot the last one that was seen in the valley. Kelly received his information of the abundance of buffaloes from an old Indian

named Logan, friendly to the whites, and who remained among the whites after the Indians were driven away."

On March 30, 1876, Prof. Loomis wrote again to Prof. Hamlin, from which letter Allen quotes as follows: "I sought an interview with Dr. Beck. The Col. Kelly referred to was a soldier and an officer in the Revolutionary war.....(He died in 1832, aged eighty-eight years). He owned a farm about five miles from Lewisburg, in Kelly township, which was named after him. About 1790-1800 Colonel Kelly was out with his gun on the McClister farm (which joined that of Col. Kelly), and just at evening saw and shot a buffalo. His dog was young, and at so late an hour he did not allow it to pursue. The next morning he went to hunt his game, but did not find it. Nearly a week later word was brought him that it had been found dead, some mile or two away. He found the information correct, but the animal had been considerably torn and eaten by wolves. He regarded the animal as a stray one and had never heard of any in the valley at a later day. Dr. Beck had the account from Col. Kelly about three months before his death. The Colonel repeated the statement of the friendly Indian, Logan, who said that buffaloes had been very abundant. He, Dr. Beck, had the same statement from Michael Grove, also one of the first settlers in the valley.....I was more particular than I should ordinarily have been, because this is about the last stage when reliable tradition can be had." Allen says: "This, of course, affords satisfactory proof of the former existence of the buffalo in the region of Lewisburg, which forms the most easterly point to which the buffalo has been positively traced."

The valley referred to by Dr. Beck near the top of the preceding page was Buffalo valley, in Union county.

In Watson's "Annals," published in 1857, it is stated that "the latest notice of buffaloes nearest to our region of country is mentioned in 1730, when a gentleman from the Shenandoah, Va., saw there a buffalo killed of 1,000 pounds, and several others came in a drove at the same time." As the Shenandoah Valley is an extension of the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania, it is easily to be inferred that if buffaloes would come into one valley they would naturally invade the other. Hence it is altogether probable that the bones found by Professor Baird, near Carlisle, were what he supposed them to be, Carlisle being in the Cumberland Valley.

The foregoing summary of facts relating to the buffalo abundantly proves its existence in Central Pennsylvania as well as in Western Pennsylvania, down to a period contemporaneous with the close of the Revolutionary War.

Lieut. Col. William Clark.

Lieutenant William Clark who was

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS AT DONEGAL

The following article was found among the effects of the late Samuel Evans, Esq., of Columbia. It deals with Revolutionary soldiers who were members of the Donegal Presbyterian Church, many of whom are buried there:

Col. Alexander Lowry.

Col. Alexander Lowry was a member of the Third Battalion in 1777, and the Seventh Battalion in 1780. He was fifty years old when the war broke out. He served in many important committees in addition to his military duties. He was one of the first in the county or State who advocated independence, and was a delegate to Carpenter's Hall, in Philadelphia, where was passed the resolution in favor of independence, on June 16, 1776, instructing our members of Congress to vote for that measure. He was equally prominent in civil affairs. He died upon his plantation, near Marietta, January 30, 1805.

Col. Bertram Galbraith.

Col. Bertram Galbraith raised a battalion in 1775, composed entirely of Donegalians. He was shortly appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the county and served five years. Two of his companions served in the Flying Camp. A number were killed or taken prisoners at the Battle of Long Island. He displayed great energy and rendered noble service in the glorious cause. He died on his plantation at the ferry, where Bainbridge is now located.

Lieut. Col. William Clark.

Lieutenant William Clark, who was in the service from Cumberland county, is buried at old Donegal. His brother, Brice Clark, was also a soldier in the Revolution, serving in Capt. John Boyd's battalion. He was prominently identified with the history of the church. He died November 7, 1820.

Capt. Hugh Pedan.

Capt. Hugh Pedan, who lived at Big Chickies, was with Col. Lowry in 1777 in the battles of Germantown and Brandywine and the Jersey campaigns. He was also a lieutenant in the company of his uncle, Capt. Alexander Scott, in the French and Indian War.

Capt. Alexander Boggs.

Capt. Alexander Boggs belonged to the Flying Camp and was at the battle of King's Bridge and Long Island. At that time he resided on his farm, adjoining Col. Galbraith's, on the east.

David Jamison.

David Jamison was Quartermaster Sergeant in Col. Lowry's battalion. He resided near Elizabethtown. He sleeps among the honored dead at Donegal.

John Jamison.

John Jamison was a brother of the above. He was a Quartermaster and was buried at Donegal.

Zachariah Moore.

Zachariah Moore was a Captain in his country's cause. He served as Second Lieutenant in Col. Lowry's battalion, being a member of Capt. Robert Craig's company. He married Mary, daughter of Andrew and Ann Boggs.

the battle of Germantown.

Capt. James Anderson.

Capt. James Anderson, of Lieutenant Colonel Cooke's Battalion, resided on the farm adjoining Col. Lowry on the east. He was a son of Rev. James Anderson, and married Jean Tate, a daughter of Rev. Joseph Tate.

William Wilson.

William Wilson was First Lieutenant in Jos. Work's company. James Wilson was his brother and an ensign in the same company. He resided on the north side of the church lands. The Wilson brothers are resting in Donegal.

Walter Bell.

Walter Bell was an ensign in Capt. Robert Craig's company in 1777. He died September 18, 1796.

James Miller.

James Miller was a Second Lieutenant in Capt. Thomas Robinson's company in 1780, and an ensign in Col. Jacob Cooke's battalion in 1783.

Capt. Joseph Work.

Capt. Joseph Work resided about one mile and a-half east of the church. He was a Captain in the Flying Camp in 1776 and at the battle of Brandywine. He was a Sheriff of Lancaster county from 1779 to 1781, and a member of the Assembly from 1773 to 1783. He married a daughter of Col. Jacob Cooke.

Andrew Boggs.

Andrew Boggs was a brother of Alexander Boggs. He is also buried in Donegal.

Nathaniel Lytle.

Capt. Nathaniel Lytle was a patriot and was killed at Chestnut Hill in the battle of Germantown.

Joseph Lytle.

Joseph Lytle was a Captain in the Revolution. He was born in 1737, and died October 23, 1788.

Capt. Robert C. Craig.

Capt. Robert C. Craig resided along Conoy creek, and was an officer with Col. Lowry in many prominent battles of the war. His family moved to the Far West. Mrs. Craig was a Miss Whitehill.

David McQueen.

David McQueen lived at Conewago and was an officer in the Flying Camp. He was in the battles of Long Island, King's Bridge and Perth Amboy. Robert McQueen was First Lieutenant in his brother's company in 1777.

Alexander Scott.

Alexander Scott resided at Big Chickies. He was a Captain in the French and Indian wars in 1756. He also served in the Revolution. He died March 26, 1787, aged seventy years.

Other Patriots Buried at Donegal.

William Myers was an Ensign in Captain Andrew Boggs' company in 1777.

James Cook resided east of where Marietta is now located. He was Second Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Work's company.

Lieut. Adam Tate was a son of Jos. Tate, as pastor of Donegal.

AN OLD PETITION

The following petition was recently unearthed in the Court House. It was from the free holders of Cocalico township to the Commissioners of Lancaster county, praying to be relieved of the payment of taxes for the year 1872, as their rye and wheat crops had almost been totally ruined by a great hail storm and tempest:

To the Gentlemen, the Commissioners and assessors of the County of Lancaster.

The petition of sundry freeholders of Cocalico Township.

Humbly sheweth.

That your petitioners hereafter mentioned and subscribed, had on the twenty-first day of May last the misfortune to be visited by a great tempest when besides other damages the hail ruined all their rye and the most part of their wheat then in the ground also that for this year they have lost their bread.

That as it is our ancient custom amongst all civilized nations, not to burden such unhappy persons with any rents or taxes, we, your petitioners, confidently lay these our deplorable circumstances before you hoping and begging that you will, according to your known wisdom and equity deal with us concerning the tax of this present year, and make our share in the public burdens so much lighter as you will think consistent with the

misery which Providence has directed
to come upon us, and we shall remain,

Gentlemen

Your humble petitioners,
and fellow citizens of
Lancaster County

"Cocalleco" Township,
the 14th of August

1782

ADAM NEES.

MATTHIAS REAM,
GEORGE MERKEL,
ABRAHAM GROFF,
JOHN MOHLER,
JOSEPH GROFF,
ISAAC HERSHBERGER,
JOHN MOHLER,
MICHAEL FRANTZ,
BALTZER GATZ,
DOWALD MIEDER,
MICHAEL M.KREISLEY,
JACOB PRIGEL,
PETER EICHENBERG,
HENRY MOHLER,
SAMUEL GROVE,
HANZ LANDIS,
JACOB MARTIN,
WENDEL HIBSHMAN,
JOHN HEFLI,
ADAM MOSER,
WILLA SHOEMAKER,
JACOB ROLAND,
TOBIAS REAM,
PETER MEYER,
ROSINA GUNDLE,
GEORGE WESTHAFER,
ABRAHAM SIEM,
JACOB SONTAG,
JOHN REAM,
JOHN REAM, JR.,
DANIEL BOWMAN,
SAMUEL BOWMAN,

Einer ist im blatz des Michael
Kneisley gelarut hat als executor des
Josephs Hershbergers blatz.

were the usual number of visitors
for September.

Minutes of the October Meeting

Schuyler - On

Lancaster, Pa., Oct. 2, 1908.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting this evening in the society's headquarters in the Smith Library Building, on North Duke street. President Steinman presided, and there was a fair attendance of the members.

Two new members were elected, Rev. George Israel Browne, rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, and Rev. Eugene Shippen, pastor of the Church of Our Father, and the name of Miss Edith L. Baldwin, of Cains, was proposed for membership. It will be acted upon at the next meeting.

The following donations to the library and archives were reported by S. M. Sener, Librarian:

Maps of Dillerville, from Mr. J. A. E. Carpenter; "Lancaster County, the Garden Spot," from Hon. W. U. Hensel; six statistical volumes from the Superintendent of Public Documents, Washington, D. C.; railroad maps of Pennsylvania, from Hon. Henry Houck; three Smull's Handbooks and two volumes of Rebellion Records from Mrs. George A. Wallace; a number of old documents from Mr. F. E. Schnerer, of Brickerville, among them being two "taufschines" and a marriage certificate, the former being ordered to be framed and a vote of thanks being extended to Mr. Schnerer; a copy of "Country Clergy in Pennsylvania," from the author, Rev. S. F. Hotchkin, of Bustleton, Philadelphia, Pa.; in addition there

PAPERS READ

(310) //

were the usual number of exchanges for September.

Thanks were extended to the donors and special mention was made of the donation of Mr. F. S. Schnerer.

On account of the meeting in this city on November 6 of the Pennsylvania German Society, it was decided to postpone the next monthly meeting until the 13th.

Three papers were on the programme to be read, and they all proved very entertaining. Miss Martha B. Clark read two. One of them, its subject being "Columbia Ancients," had been written by the late Samuel Evans, Esq. It dealt with the history of many prominent Columbians in the legal and journalistic professions, and also gave a list of the early tavern keepers in the town. The other paper read by Miss Clark was also prepared by Mr. Evans. Its subject was "Revolutionary Soldiers at Donegal."

The third paper, read by Samuel M. Sener, was entitled, "Buffaloes in Pennsylvania." It was a chapter of a book that has been published in Philadelphia under the title, "Progressive Pennsylvania," its author being Mr. James M. Swank, who for thirty-five years has been the general manager of the American Iron and Steel Association. The facts narrated proved that buffaloes existed in Central and Western Pennsylvania down to a period contemporaneous with the close of the Revolutionary War.

The papers were discussed by several of the members and then ordered to be printed in the Society's pamphlet.

The meeting then adjourned.

312-14

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NOVEMBER 13, 1908.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

Early Conestoga Navigation

- 815

By Miss Martha B. Clark.

Minutes of November Meeting

- 831

EARLY CONESTOGA NAVIGATION.

MINUTES OF NOVEMBER MEETING.

VOL. XII. NO. 9.

LANCASTER, PA.

REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.

1908.

Early Conestoga Navigation

The first effort to make the Conestoga river an avenue of trade and commerce was the Act of March 3, 1773 (p. 62), Vol. 1, of Pennsylvania, making that river (as well as most of the upper streams of Pennsylvania) a public highway as far as Matthias Mough's mill dam, for the purposes of navigation. It provided that all obstructions to His Majesty's subjects and their commerce up and down the said Conestoga river shall

Early Conestoga Navigation - - - - - 315

BY MISS MARTHA B. CLARK.

Minutes of November Meeting - - - - - 331

Committee to make dams for the purpose. The act further provided that no person should lead sky water away from the stream, by raoe or otherwise.

Early Steps at Navigation.

The next step in this general purpose is the Act of March 17, 1800 (P. L., p. 463), which gave the Governor the power to incorporate a company to make the Conestoga river navigable from the Susquehanna river to Hamilton's mill, with locks and dams. Section 9 of this Act provides that the company may enter on the lands along the Conestoga after giving notice to owners and paying damages; and that three appraisers may be appointed to appraise damages or agree with the owners as to the damages. And section 10 pro-

vides that in any dam erected by the company it shall be lawful for the owners of the adjoining land to erect

Early Conestoga Navigation

The first effort to make the Conestoga river an avenue of trade and commerce was the Act of March 9, 1771 (p. 627, Vol. 1, of Bioren laws), making that river (as well as some of the upper streams of Pennsylvania) a public highway as far as Matthias Slough's mill dam, for the purposes of navigation. It provided that all obstructions to His Majesty's subjects and their commerce up and down the said Conestoga river shall be held to be common nuisances. In Section 11 the Act appoints a commission to clear the stream and make it navigable. George Ross and others were empowered to collect money for the purpose, and they were also a committee to make dams for the same object. The act further provided that no person should lead any water away from the stream, by race or otherwise.

Early Steps at Navigation.

The next step in this general purpose is the Act of March 17, 1806 (P. L., p. 463), which gave the Governor the power to incorporate a company to make the Conestoga river navigable from the Susquehanna river to Hamilton's mill, with locks and dams. Section 8 of this Act provides that the company may enter on the lands along the Conestoga after giving notice to owners and paying damages; and that three appraisers may be appointed to appraise damages or agree with the owners as to the damages. And section 10 pro-

vides that in any dam erected by the company it shall be lawful for the owners of the adjoining land to erect water works and have the privilege of conveying water out of the dams so that he does not injure the navigation; but that he shall pay for such privilege. Section 19 provides that if the company does not begin the work within three years and complete it inside of ten they shall lose their rights.

Then came the Act of March 28, 1820 (P. L., p. 150), which, among other things, empowered James Hopkins, and his heirs and assigns, to create and construct a Slackwater navigation in the Conestoga creek, or river, from the Susquehanna river to the Lancaster and Philadelphia turnpike road. Section 2 empowered them to erect dams or locks; section 3 to make estimates on damages by views; section 5, that persons injured by the rising of the water should receive compensation; and section 10, that the locks should be 18 feet wide and 80 feet long; and the horn to announce the approach of the boats should be blown at least one-fourth of a mile away from the locks.

Adam Reigart in Early Movement.

The next step was the Act of March 3, 1825 (P. L., p. 46), which provided for the erection of the Conestoga Navigation Company and the construction of its plant. It sets forth that Adam Reigart and the other gentlemen therein named should have the power to take necessary steps, and that it would be lawful for them to make a navigation canal or slack-water navigation and tow path on and along the Conestoga river; and to set up locks and dams fit for navigation;

to occupy lands on which to make sluices and to erect canals, dam-locks, etc., first satisfying the owners; provided for three suitable viewers in case parties can not agree; and that if any person is injured and damages are occasioned by the erecting of dams or the undulated by swelling water, or any mill or water work injured or tail race clogged, that they shall be entitled to damages. The Act further provides a penalty for not keeping the dams in repair, and that the company may sell surplus water or rent it for works.

The next step was the Act of April 9, 1827 (P. L., p. 174), which gave the Conestoga Navigation Company rights which it did not theretofore possess, viz., that of purchasing lands and mills and water works which might be injured by swelling water on them; and in such mills to raise and erect such machinery as they think fit. And section 3 provides that if they deem it expedient or advantageous to purchase any mills or other works on the streams which are tributary to the Conestoga river they may do so, and raise the dams on such streams to such height as they think proper, so that the water power may not be lost; and that injury to individuals shall be paid for.

Then followed the Act of December 20, 1827 (P. L., p. 2), empowering the Conestoga Navigation Co. to borrow money from banks and to mortgage their works and improvements.

An Inspector of Liquors.

This was followed by the Act of April 8, 1829 (P. L., p. 129), which provided for the inspection of liquors and wood which might be shipped to the landing place of the Conestoga Navigation Company, near the city of

Lancaster. And on the same day and in the same book, p. 136, there was another Act fixing a new method by which to pay for the lands taken by the company, and providing an appeal to the District or Circuit Court of Lancaster county in such case.

Then followed up the Act of April 29, 1829 (P. L., p. 367), which further gave to the District and Circuit Courts of Lancaster county the power to hear grievances arising out of damages, and to fix these damages.

Financial Difficulties.

Under these various Acts of Assembly the Conestoga Navigation was erected and started in its business. About this time came along the hard luck and the great damages to the company by reason of floods, which is found in Vol. 10 of Hazard's Register (p. 54). These losses to the company conspired to bring about a Sheriff sale, when the whole property of the Conestoga Navigation Company was sold by Sheriff Adam Bear to William and Edward Coleman, for \$17,500. The proceedings are found in Book Y, Vol. 5, p. 298, of the Recorder's office. The property is said in the proceedings to consist of a stone grist mill in Conestoga township and 57 acres and 34 perches of land on the south side of Conestoga creek, with certain reservations; and the sale was upon a \$5,000 judgment recovered by the Farmers' Bank, of Lancaster.

In addition to the property just spoken of there was included in the deed all the dams, locks, sluices, roads, paths, towpaths, water and water works thereunto belonging and all the houses, mills, lands, tenements and hereditaments and real estate of and belonging to the said Conestoga Navi-

gation Company lying on both sides of Conestoga river in Lampeter, Conestoga, Lancaster and Manor townships; and all the tolls, incomes, rents, issues, profits, rights, liberties, privileges, franchises, hereditaments whatsoever belonging thereto, being the estate of the Conestoga Navigation Company.

The Sheriff's deed recites that on June 1 he exposed it to public sale and sold it to William and Edward Coleman for \$17,500, and that part of the premises to wit, the grist mill at lock No. 1, was subject to a mortgage of \$1,000, held by the Bank of Pennsylvania. The deed is dated June 10, 1833.

The Colemans Interested.

The next step was for William Coleman to sell out his half-interest to his brother, Edward Coleman, which occurred very shortly after the two had bought the same, and the deed is on record in the Recorder's office of Lancaster county. After Edward Coleman thus owned all of the lands and rights of the Navigation Company, he made a great many improvements on it, repairing the dams that had been broken and bought tracts of land for towpaths and flowage rights, inasmuch as he raised one of the dam, notably the one at Slackwater, to a height of twenty feet and three inches. These properties were bought from David Thomas (found in Book K, Vol. 6, p. 240); from Jacob Warfel (K-6-264); from Jacob Brenneman (N-6-142); from Henry Shenk (N-6-144); from Abram Brenneman (N-6-155); from Henry Rohrer (P-6-91); and from Adam Lefevre (T-6-159). The Thomas, Shenk, Brenneman and Lefevre purchases were in Manor township, and the Warfel, Brenneman

Edward Coleman, George Louis Mayer,

and Rohrer purchases in Conestoga township. The purchase from Abram Brenneman recites that the right is purchased to swell and dam the water back as high as will be on a level with the ground marked by the posts in the ground, and so far as a dam to be erected on the site of the present dam (Slackwater), and to be of the height of twenty feet and three inches, will swell or dam the water back to the same height as the dam which is mentioned in the Henry Shenk purchase. Next after Edward Coleman became the owner of these properties and rights of the Conestoga Navigation Companies and bought the various properties just referred to, he succeeded in having a new company chartered by the Legislature, to which afterwards he sold his holdings. This new company was known as the Lancaster, Susquehanna and Slackwater Navigation Company. It was chartered by the Legislature April 1, 1837 and may be found in P. L., p.152, of that year. The Act recites the old Act of March 3, 1825, and that works were completed and built under the old Act and that through losses and misfortunes the company failed; and it was then sold out by the Sheriff and has since become the property of Edward Coleman, who has now the right to receive tolls, etc., and has bought additional property. It also sets forth that he has now improved the works and spent \$120,000 on them, and that \$50,000 more will be needed to make repairs and improvements. It further sets forth that a petition was signed by citizens of Lancaster, stating that the present owner is willing to transfer his holdings to a new company, if such company is formed. The Act then sets forth in Section 13 that Edward Coleman, George Louis Mayer,

Peter Long, Abram Peters and Jacob Huber, of Lancaster, and their associates, shall be a corporation, etc., known as the Lancaster, Susquehanna and Slackwater Navigation Company. Section 14 provides that the corporation may purchase from Edward Coleman the appurtenances and properties of the old Conestoga Navigation Company. And, finally, Section 21 sets forth that Edward Coleman, his heirs or assigns, until he or they make a conveyance, and after the conveyance, that the company taking the same "shall hold, possess and enjoy all the lands, tenements, hereditaments, works and other properties and tolls, and all else in the deed of the Sheriff described, and all the rights, privileges and franchises of whatever nature and kind, and all the waters and streams which the Conestoga Navigation Company had or were entitled to under the Act of March 3, 1825, and its supplements."

Coleman Unloads Holdings.

This corporation being duly erected and organized, Edward Coleman now proceeded to unload to it his holdings, which he did for the price of \$200,000 by a deed dated May 6, 1840, found in the Recorder's office in Book S, Vol. 6, p. 299. This deed, by Edward Coleman to the Lancaster, Susquehanna and Slackwater Navigation Company recites the proceedings in full, and among other things states that William Coleman granted and conveyed his rights in the premises to his brother Edward; and it is set forth that the whole system consists of nine locks and dams, and excepts a few reservations at lock No. 1 and lock No. 3, known as the Crise mill, and at lock No. 6. It is signed by Edward Coleman and Anna C. Coleman, his wife.

The new company now having possession of the property bought additional rights and lands for the purpose of towpaths, etc., and for the flooding of lands, which was necessary by reason of the high dams. These premises were bought by the Lancaster, Susquehanna and Slackwater Navigation Company from David Yardy (Book R, Vol. 6, p. 258); from Jacob Shenk (R-6-192); from John Shenk (S-6-24); from The Susquehanna Canal Company (T-6-259); from Emanuel Herr (Y-6-32 and Y-6-33); from Jacob Huber (Y-6-34); from Christian Herr (Y-6-35); from David Bair et al. (E-7-359); from Isaac Hazelhurst (H-7-7), and from Abram Peters (D-8-156). These purchases were all of lands in Conestoga and Manor townships, except The Susquehanna Canal Company purchase, which was on the Susquehanna river. They were practically all used for towpaths.

More Financial Disturbances.

The company now carried on its business for twenty years, when new troubles beset it. It again became heavily indebted and suffered continually from freshets tearing out its dams; and the result was that on the 16th of April, 1866, Fred. Smith, the High Sheriff of Lancaster county, again found the whole system in his hands for sale on execution. The deed is recorded in the Recorder's office in Book A, Vol. 10, p. 296, and it recites that by virtue of the writ the Sheriff levied on all and singular the lands, tenements, hereditaments, works, water-powers and other property of the Lancaster, Susquehanna and Slackwater Navigation Company and all its rights. It states that it consists of the "Slackwater navigation on the Conestoga creek, extending from

the City of Lancaster to the mouth of the Conestoga at Safe Harbor, 17½ miles, connecting it with the Susquehanna Canal, with seven locks and dams and one grand lock, and six lock houses; and the land attached thereunto with the canal, towpaths, bridges, ways, franchises and appurtenances thereto belonging. Execution was issued for the payment of a debt of \$25,612, which Isaac Hazelhurst, trustee for bondholders to the use of the Farmers' National Bank, recovered against the said Navigation Company."

Pursuant to the above execution, the Sheriff sold the above property for the sum of \$10,000 to Samuel J. Reeves.

Samuel J. Reeves Becomes Owner.

Samuel J. Reeves, it seems, operated it for some time, and sold out different portions of it from time to time. One of the principal sales was by Samuel J. Reeves to Jacob G. Peters and George Levan, on November 7, 1872, the deed for which appears in the Recorder's office in Book F, Vol. 12, p. 537, and it recites that the grantors sold "so much of the lands, tenements, hereditaments, water and water powers which were of the Lancaster, Susquehanna and Slackwater Navigation Company, as are included between the head of the navigation at Lancaster and a point 200 yards below and south from what is known as the outlet for lock No. 4 of the said navigation, at the southern end of the canal at Petersville, in Conestoga township" being a part of the same which Fred. Smith, Sheriff, sold to the said Samuel J. Reeves." This, as we understand, is for the upper half of the canal system, extending from Slackwater to Petersville.

By a deed dated December 14, 1872, Jacob Peters sold to George Levan his half interest about lock No. 1, and above and below the same, which is recorded in Book S, Vol. 10, p. 89, so that George Levan now owned absolutely the upper portion, extending to and below Levan's mill. By a deed of the same date Peters and Levan sold to John Shober all the portions about Petersville, found in Book U, Vol. 11, p. 294. And by a deed found in Book K, Vol. 11, p. 293, George Levan sold his interest in seven acres at Wabank to Jacob M. Frantz; and by certain other deeds George Levan sold to Jacob Peters his half interest in the same about Wabank and Slackwater.

Transportation of Merchandise.

I can not say very much about the merchandise transported by the navigation companies, but in Hazard's Register it is stated that the goods of Langdon C. Cheves, when he moved them from Lancaster, were shipped to Philadelphia by the way of Slackwater Navigation. Among the goods shipped some are referred to in Vol. 3 of Hazard's Register, p. 254, where it is said that "Captain Charles Odel took on board 90 hogsheads of whisky belonging to Mr. John Lutz, on Wednesday, the 17th of March, 1829, and left lock No. 4 (Rock Hill) at five o'clock in the evening and arrived the next day at two o'clock in the morning at Port Deposit. The charges for delivering to Baltimore is one cent a gallon. On the 19th Captain Omit loaded two arks with whisky and flour at lock No. 8 for Baltimore. Two other arks are loaded with whisky of ninety hogshead and will proceed this day. The navigation is in fine order, and that the people ex-

pect to be benefited with an active spring trade and that from the port of Lancaster we can always get to Baltimore two or three weeks earlier than the trade of the west branch of the Susquehanna, owing to the late improvements in navigation."

The article also says that Lancaster rejoices at the prosperity which the navigation brings to the city and county. In the same book it is stated, under date of May 12, 1829, that "yesterday morning as the ark Adam Reigart, was clearing lock No. 9, at the mouth of the Conestoga, part of the wall fell on the ark and hurled it into the river, a complete wreck." On page 336 it is stated that the Governor has appointed Edward Hutchinson to be inspector of liquors at Conestoga Landing, near Lancaster city. In Vol. 6 of Hazard's Register, p. 46, it is stated that the rates of toll on the Conestoga Navigation would be 20 cents a thousand for boards and 34 cents a thousand for staves and 7 cents a thousand for shingles; and that this will mean \$9,632 on those articles alone. In Vol. 3 of Hazard's Register, p. 32, it is stated that a boat load of wood and locust posts from the Susquehanna has ascended the Conestoga to Lancaster. A high encomium on the enterprise of building the Conestoga Navigation is found in Vol. 3 of Hazard's Register, p. 42, in which the blessings of the system are elaborated upon.

Lancastrians Bought Stock.

The Conestoga Navigation Company, as we have just shown, was incorporated by an Act passed March 3, 1825. The object was to make the Conestoga creek, or river, navigable for all the ascending or descending trade by steamboat, reel boats, rafts

and arks. Twelve hundred shares of stock, at \$50 per share, making \$60,000, was fixed by law as the capital stock of the company, with privilege to increase the stock, if necessary, for completing the work. Before the fourth of June the commissioners had secured subscriptions from 167 persons, chiefly from residents of Lancaster, for 811 shares, and on that day the charter was granted.

The company was organized on the sixth of July following, when these officers were elected: Adam Reigart, Edward Coleman, George B. Porter, Jasper Slaymaker, George Louis Mayer, Hugh Maxwell, John F. Steinman, of Lancaster city, and John Lintner and George Haverstick, of Lancaster township. Engineers were employed to examine the Conestoga, surveys made and the plan of work adopted. It was to be an entire Slackwater navigation. The work of the whole line was let to Caleb Hammill, a contractor of New York, he being the lowest bidder. He was recommended by Governor Clinton and Judge Wright, distinguished men of the State. On the seventh of December, 1825, a contract was signed by Hammill, by which he was bound to make the navigation for the sum of \$53,240, and to deliver the work completed by the fourth of July, 1827.

Edward F. Gray, a pupil of Canvas White, was appointed engineer of the company. Nine dams and locks were to be erected on the river, No. 1 at Light's mill, and descending to No. 9 at the mouth of the Conestoga. On July 31, 1826, the first dam and lock were finished. On the second of August the board of managers, on the invitation of Mr. Hammill, the contractor, going aboard the new boat, "Edward Coleman," proceeded at

the rate of about five miles an hour to the new lock. There was a band of music on the boat playing national airs. Upon reaching the dock they found a committee of ladies from Lancaster, with Judge Moulton C. Rogers and Dr. Samuel Humes. Upon reaching the lock, Mrs. William Jenkins made an address on behalf of the ladies, complimenting Mr. Hammill upon his success in the work so far, and stating the great advantages it would give to the people of the county. She ended by presenting the contractor with a flag. Mr. Hammill responded in an appropriate speech, and the ladies and their escorts were taken aboard the boat, which proceeded to Mr. Reigart's landing, at the head of navigation, a distance of two and three-quarter miles. Later in the afternoon the boat returned to the bridge, when the party returned to Lancaster.

On the second of January the engineer, Mr. Gray, in his letter to the president and board of managers, reported the entire completion of the work from the landing of Adam Reigart to where the Conestoga empties its waters into the Susquehanna. It was a distance of 17 miles and 71 chains, with a fall of 64 feet, making valuable water power at each of the locks. Early in the progress of the work it was found necessary to increase the strength of the locks, in order to resist the great pressure of the water. For this alteration and all extra work the sum of \$6,573 was allowed the contractor, making the cost of the work \$59,534. Other bills of expense were added later, bringing the total cost of making the Conestoga navigable to \$68,539.92.

Several mills located on the Conestoga were purchased to save trouble

with the owners. These mills were Light's, Haverstick's and Espen-shade's. Light's mill was purchased April 4, 1826, which with repairs and twelve acres and 64 perches of land, cost \$7,780. Haverstick's mill was purchased June 7, 1827, for \$9,680. It included 57 acres of land. Espen-shade's mill, on the Little Conestoga, was purchased January 1, 1828, for \$3,200. There were nine acres of land with it. The entire cost of the mills was \$20,660.

In a report of a committee in reference to the Conestoga Navigation it was stated that it "stands alone in the Union, for there is none like it—a monument of our genius and enterprise."

On the fifth of January, 1829, the following were elected managers: Adam Reigart (president), George B. Porter, Edward Coleman, John Reynolds, Henry Kieffer, Jonas Dorwart, F. R. Muhlenberg, Robert Evans, John R. Montgomery, James Humes, Abraham Gibbons and George Louis Mayer.

Captain John Mitchell built a packet boat to run on the Conestoga. It was 70 feet long and 12 feet beam, with three cabins, one for ladies and one for gentlemen, with dining room, bar, pantries, etc. Similar packet boats were used afterwards on the Pennsylvania canal.

Another pleasure boat was built by Samuel C. Slaymaker. It was 60 feet long and 12 wide. It was drawn by two horses, and was used between Reigart's Landing and the first lock. Samuel C. Slaymaker was one of the proprietors of the stage line between Lancaster and Philadelphia.

It may be interesting to note here that the first packet in Pennsylvania was built in Lancaster in 1828. It was named the "Red Rover," and was

run on the Conestoga Navigation between Lancaster and Safe Harbor, until 1833 (Book of the Pageant in Philadelphia, p. 33).

The Conestoga Navigation Company brought slate from Peach Bottom for George M. Steinman & Co., this firm having a slate yard at Graeff's Landing, opposite Engleside. At that time Jacob and Frederick Sener were dealers in coal and lumber at the same place.

The importance of this early waterway is shown by the following, taken from an opinion given by the committee appointed in 1832 to examine into the advisability of continuing the canal, as may be seen in Vol. 10 of Hazard's Register, p. 58:

"Lumber and coal business has increased for the last two years to an amazing extent, and it must increase every succeeding year. Coal received by the Conestoga Navigation Company sold at Lancaster from \$.50 to \$.75 a ton cheaper than at Columbia or Marietta, charging land carriage to Lancaster; and boards and shingles from \$.50 to \$.75 per one thousand feet less."

The two posters on which this article was based were presented to the society by Mrs. Laura B. Ehler. They give rates for merchandise from Lancaster to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and regulations for boats, etc. The date of one poster is March 15, 1848, and of the other March, 1853.

The notes or data for this article were taken mainly from Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, 1833, Vol. 10, p. 54; from Ellis & Evans' History of Lancaster County, p. 317, and records in the Recorder's office.

*and other county papers
Magazine of History and Biography
for July, 1908; Historical Address*

Minutes of November Meeting

Lancaster, Pa., Nov. 13, 1908.

There was a rather spirited meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society held this evening in the society's rooms in the A. Herr Smith Library Building. A paper was read on early Conestoga navigation, which provoked some discussion, and some new light was thrown on the early life of President James Buchanan. President Steinman presided, and there was a fairly large attendance of members. November 6 was the regular meeting night of the society, but owing to the gathering here of the Pennsylvania-German Society it was postponed until to-night.

Miss Edith L. Baldwin, of Cains, Lancaster county, was elected a member.

The Librarian, Samuel M. Sener, announced the following donations to the society since the October meeting:

Volumes 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Franklin Calendar of Letters and Papers from the American Philosophical Society; Biographical Sketch of Christian Herr, from L. B. Herr; Boyd's Lancaster City Directory for 1857, from W. B. Altick; Letters from Tuskegee, from Dr. S. Becker Von Grabill; Kansas State Historical Collections, Volume 10, from the Kansas State Historical Society; Bulletins of the Bureau of Ethnology, New York Public Library; Pennsylvania State Dairy Commission; Grand Rapids Public Library and Carnegie Library; Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography for July, 1908; Historical Address

of the Delaware Historical Society; Annals of Iowa for October, 1908; Pennsylvania-German Magazine for November, 1908; Sketch of Schaeffertown, Pa., from Rev. J. W. Richards, the author; Certificate of Stock (cancelled) of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike, dated March 16, 1795, from Hon. W. U. Hensel; two local postal cards, from D. B. Landis; two Conestoga navigation posters, from Mrs. L. B. Ehler, of Los Angeles, California.

The thanks of the society were extended to the donors.

The paper prepared for the evening was submitted by Miss Martha B. Clark, who had as her subject "The Conestoga Navigation Company." It told of an early attempt to make the Conestoga navigable from the Susquehanna to the "port of Lancaster." The company was created under an Act of the Legislature in 1825, and it constructed dams and locks from Safe Harbor to Reigart's Landing. Boats were operated for a number of years, but the venture was never a very profitable one, and the company's property was subsequently disposed of at Sheriff's sale.

Miss Clark's paper was supplemented by some data, prepared by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., on a still earlier venture to make the Conestoga navigable. It recited at length the proceedings which led up to the organization of the later Conestoga Navigation Company.

Both papers were referred to the Executive Committee for further action.

Mr. W. U. Hensel then entertained the members by reading extracts from private correspondence which threw some new light on an early love affair of Lancaster county's only President, James Buchanan. In an article

published in Volume 10 of the proceedings of the society a supposed "Buchanan myth," to the effect that Buchanan had at one time commenced the practice of law in Kentucky, was "exploded" by Mr. Hensel. Quite recently, however, he was shown some correspondence which appears to establish beyond a doubt that President Buchanan did journey to Kentucky to take up the study of law, and that he met there a lady with whom he became greatly smitten. Portions of the correspondence were read by Mr. Hensel, and they proved most entertaining, besides throwing much new light on Buchanan's early career.

An interesting discussion of the letters followed, and the society then adjourned.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee the article prepared by Miss Clark and the data on the same subject submitted by H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., were ordered to be printed in the Society's pamphlet.

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VOL. XII. NO. 10.

LANCASTER, PA.
REPRINTED FROM THE NEW ERA.
1908.

535-28

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DECEMBER 4, 1908.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."
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VOL. XII. NO. 10.

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LIST OF THE TITLES AND BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF THE
PAPERS READ BEFORE THE LANCASTER COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society, held the fourth day of December, 1863, it was resolved and unanimously carried that the sub-committee of the Executive Committee should compare a complete list of the papers and articles read before this Society, from its incorporation to the present time, to be presented in the current pamphlet for the benefit and guidance of the members, and particularly enable them to ascertain in a convenient form the subjects which have been discussed, so that there may be no duplication of papers and subjects.

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Carrying out the resolution thus passed, the sub-committee has proceeded upon the said work and in the following table sets forth the same with an epitome of the contents of the more extensive papers. The said papers are as follows:

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This paper contains cuts of the Powder Magazine and the Barracks of Lancaster, together with a long list of the financial accounts of the account book of John Hubley of Lancaster, employed on the part of the Continental Congress to presume money duties relative to the Revolutionary War.		
Rustic Art in Lancaster County. By DR. JOS. H. DUBBS....	(7)	17
Second Adventists or Millerites. By D. B. LANDIS.....	(9)	47
In this paper Mr. Landis tells of the rise of the Millerites, the result of their practices, their local adherents and places of meetings, and their disappointments.		
Settlement and Population of Lancaster County. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D.....	(9)	151

Story of a Picture. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D.....(9)	182
This paper explains and enlarges upon a picture made of Lancaster in 1800, says the author; and from the pic- ture, which is used with the article, several new facts are developed as to the size and progress of Lancaster at various dates, etc.	
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Stiegel, Baron Henry W. By DR. J. H. SEILING.....(1)	44
This paper is embellished by engravings of the old ten- plate stove, the Stiegel mansion, the Stiegel office, speci- mens of Stiegel glassware, the early Lutheran Church, the old schoolhouse where Stiegel taught and the Stiegel tombstone.	
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In this paper Mr. Evans also brings in, in addition to the history of the township, anecdotes and incidents in the life of Reuben Chambers.	
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Simon, Joseph, Sketch of. By SAMUEL EVANS, ESQ.....(3)	165
This paper is upon the ancestors of the early Jews in Lancaster, who came here about 1742 and traded first in furs and afterwards in clothes.	
St. James' Church Records. By MARY N. ROBINSON.....(5)	78
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Among other things this paper treats of the rejoicing when it was found that there could be telegraphic communication between Harrisburg and Lancaster; it also sets forth where the first telegraph office in Lancaster was located and discusses it fully.		
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This is the history of the Philadelphia and Lancaster turnpike. It sets forth the location of the toll gates, the rates of toll, the hotels along the pike and the traditions connected with it.		
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Welsh Graveyard in East Earl Township. By B. F. OWEN..(1)		
This is a paper on the history of an ancient graveyard in East Earl Township, nearly a mile west of Fairville. The author says that mention of it was made in 1729 in connection with the West Church records at Haverford and Radnor. This paper is accompanied by a plan of the graves and a list of the inscriptions on the tombstones, of which there are forty-one given.		
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Who Was Who in Lancaster One Hundred Years Ago...By MRS. JAMES D. LANDIS.....(11)		363
Wabank House. By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D.....(9)		3
This paper contains a full narration of the organization		

of a company to erect a summer hotel at Wabank on Conestoga River; the erection of the same; the social life there; the removal of the big hotel to Lititz and its destruction by fire.

Washington at Lancaster.—By F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D. . (10) 93
Wood, Governor, of Virginia. By GEORGE STEINMAN..... (10) 157

This article contains a letter written by Governor Wood while at Lancaster in 1781, containing some account of the military matters as they stood here at that time.

Zahm, Matthias—An Old Diary. By MISS MARY GOODELL.... (12) 184

The above we certify to the Society as a correct list of the papers prepared and read before the Society, and we respectfully report the same for publication, in accordance with the spirit of the resolution, assigning this task to our hands.

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, Esq.,
Chairman.
S. M. SENER,
Secretary.
D. B. LANDIS,
Sub-committee.

December 9, 1908.

by the sister society was unanimously adopted.

Minutes of December Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., Dec. 4, 1908.

The monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this (Friday) evening in the usual place of meeting, the Smith Library Building. The attendance of members was only fair, the inclement weather probably interfering. President Steinman presided.

The name of Mrs. Maude D. Hager, of Marietta, was proposed for membership, and the application will be acted upon at the next meeting.

The donations reported by Librarian Sener were as follows:

Nineteen miscellaneous pamphlets and seven old newspapers; W. U. Hensel, Esq.; Yule Marble Pamphlet, Hon. J.P. McCaskey; Penn's Greene Country Towns, Rev. S. F. Hotchkin, Bustleton, Philadelphia; programme of the Pennsylvania-German Society's banquet and meeting, held on November 6th last, in Lancaster, S. M. Sener; seven volumes of the sixth series of the Pennsylvania State Archives, Hon. T. L. Montgomery, State Librarian, Harrisburg; Pennsylvania-German Magazine, November, 1908; bulletin of the New York Public Library, November, 1908; "The Old School and the New," Louis Richards, Reading.

The usual thanks were extended the donors.

Attention was called to the recent fire in the Lebanon County Court House, when the Lebanon County Historical Society suffered a loss, and, on motion, an expression of sympathy for the loss and inconvenience sustained

by the sister society was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Eshleman brought up the matter of having an index or list made of the titles of all articles that have been read before the Society since its organization. Recently, there has been matter duplicated, and it was with the idea of acquainting the members with the subjects that have been handled, so that there will be no repetition, that the suggestion was made. The matter was referred to the sub-committee of the Executive Committee, with instructions to prepare the index.

D. B. Landis read a letter which he had received from H. M. M. Richards, of Lebanon, Secretary of the Pennsylvania-German Society, expressing thanks to the Lancaster members of the society for the splendid entertainment accorded the delegates.

This was the meeting night for the nomination of officers, to be elected in January, and the following were named: President, George Steinman; Vice Presidents, F. R. Diffenderffer and Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs; Secretary, Charles B. Hollinger; Librarian, Samuel M. Sener; Treasurer, Dr. J. W. Houston; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark; Executive Committee, A. K. Hostetter, Richard M. Reilly, Esq., W. U. Hensel, Esq., George F. K. Erisman, D. B. Landis, H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., Mrs. Sarah B. Carpenter, Monroe B. Hirsh, Chas. T. Steigerwalt and Miss Lottie M. Bausman.

Miss Clark called attention to the fact that the annual dues are payable at the January meeting. They should be paid directly to Miss Clark.

The question of sending delegates to the meeting of the State Federation of Historical Societies, which will be held at Harrisburg, January 7, was

SATURDAY NOVEMBER 2, 1907. (358)

brought up, and, on motion, the following were elected to represent the local society: President Steinman, Vice Presidents Dubbs and Diffenderffer, Secretary Hostetter, Librarian Sener, Treasurer Houston, Miss Clark, the Corresponding Secretary, and C. B. Hollinger.

The society then adjourned to meet on Friday evening, January 8.

(358)

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1907.

A NIGHT WITH THE HISTORIANS

SUCCESSFUL MEETING OF COUNTY SOCIETY

Two Very Entertaining Papers Read
by Dr. John W. Jordan and Hon.

W. U. Hensel—Members Are
Guests at Luncheon.

Many interesting and hitherto unpublished facts showing the important position Lancaster and Lancaster county and her people held in the Colonial and Revolutionary periods were brought out in two very entertaining papers read on Friday evening before the November meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society. It was one of the largest meetings in the history of the organization, many visitors enjoying the pleasures of the evening together with a goodly portion of the membership. The Society was honored by the presence of Dr. John W. Jordan, Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, who read one of the papers of the evening. The other contribution was from the versatile pen of Hon. W. U. Hensel.

Previous to the reading of the papers the Society elected to membership Miss Lottie M. Bausman, of this city, and accepted the names of the following as applicants for membership: Mr. F. A. Demuth, Mrs. Fred. A. Demuth, Miss Marion Donnelly, Mr. L. O. Davis and Mrs. L. O. Davis, all of this city.

The librarian announced the following donations received during the past month:

Eight bulletins and one bound report from the New York State Library; nine volumes of statistical character from the Pennsylvania State Library; eight bulletins from the

Columbia University Library of New York; report of the 1907 meeting of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Historical Societies; report of the Schenectady, N. Y., Historical Society for 1906; catalogue of Dr. Oswald Seidensticker's library, from S. M. Sener; catalogue of the library of Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, from Miss Martha B. Clark; The Pennsylvania Hermit, printed in Philadelphia in 1839 from L. B. Herr; two local postal cards, from D. B. Landis; Business Directory of Lancaster for 1853 and a Council meeting notice of 1842, from Charles T. Steigerwalt; framed picture of the Bezelion tombstones, from Hon. J. P. McCaskey, Mayor.

The thanks of the Society were extended to the donors and especially to Mayor McCaskey, Mr. L. B. Herr and Mr. Charles T. Steigerwalt for their valuable contributions.

An invitation was received to attend the annual meeting of Old Columbians to be held in Philadelphia on November 12.

The Papers of the Evening.

Dr. Jordan took as the subject of his paper, "William Henry," a prominent character in the history of Lancaster prior to and during the Revolutionary era. He came here about 1750 and until his death in December, 1786 was perhaps our most prominent citizen. He filled many public offices. He was the armorer to the expeditions of Braddock and Poquet, was a member of the Continental Congress, a Justice of the Peace and a Common Pleas Judge of the county; a member of the General Assembly, and assistant Burgess of the city and also Chief Burgess, and a commissary of purchases for the army during the Revolution.

Jacob Hiltzheimer, a character comparatively new to local historians, was the subject of Mr. Hensel's paper in which he threw much light on Lan-

caster county's important position in the country before there was any Harrisburg, Altoona and the West. Jacob Hiltzheimer kept what nearly all men of affairs to-day neglect to do—he kept a diary, and it was from this that Mr. Hensel gleaned the facts for his unusually entertaining paper. Friend Hiltzheimer lived in Philadelphia during the Revolutionary period and was one of its most prominent citizens. He made frequent trips to Lancaster, where he was always a welcome visitor, and Lancastrians were often royally entertained by Hiltzheimer at his Philadelphia home. Hiltzheimer was a man of many parts, according to his diary. He mingled with jockeys and gentlemen, one day he went to hear a woman preach and the next day, with as much zest, to see a brown colt run two miles in four minutes and a quarter. Fox hunts were also one of his numerous pleasures. He was a member of the General Assembly and frequently dined with his Lancaster county associates.

He dined with President Washington and was continually breakfasting with senators and other statesmen. Punch drinking, military reviews, horse racing, cock fighting, fox hunting and other diversions take up so much of the diary, said Mr. Hensel, that I seriously question whether we have improved on our forebears in the fine art of "good living." In the directories of his day Hiltzheimer was noted as a livery stable keeper until about 1786, when he was elected an Assemblyman. He died of yellow fever in 1798.

At the conclusion of the literary features a delightful social session followed, those present becoming the guests of Mr. Hensel at a charming luncheon. It proved a very pleasant diversion for the evening, and was apparently enjoyed as much by the host as by his guests.

The November meeting was one of the red letter events of the local historical society.

Facts About Lancaster.

In answer to a correspondent in a distant part of the State, we make the following statement as to certain facts in the history of Lancaster city:

The town was laid out in 1730 by Andrew Hamilton, on a 500-acre tract of land which he owned in what is now the heart of the city. It is supposed to have had about 200 inhabitants at that time. In 1742 it was incorporated as a borough.

On September 27, 1777, the Continental Congress came to Lancaster, having been driven out of Philadelphia by the approach of the British forces under General Howe. It remained here but a day or two, and then removed to York. It held its sessions in the old Court House in the Square.

In 1799 Lancaster became the Capital of Pennsylvania, and retained that honor until 1812, when the seat of government was removed to Harrisburg.

In 1818 Lancaster was chartered as a city.

Dec. 5 1908
HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEETING.

Expression of Sympathy Passed for Lebanon County Society—Officers Nominated.

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The society then adjourned to meet on Friday evening, January 8.

LOCAL HISTORIC PLACES.

The Recent Suggestion That They Be
Marked Draws Out Some In-
teresting Facts.

To the Editor of The New Era.

In your issue of Tuesday H. K. D. states what is an error, when he says, in "A Pertinent Suggestion," that "Among the places I would suggest to have suitably-inscribed tablets put on them is the spot where the house of George Ross, the Signer, stood, where the Court House now stands. And I would suggest the building occupied by M. T. Garvin & Co. for a memorial stone. It is said that Gen. Lafayette was entertained there."

It is true that the residence and office of George Ross, the Signer, stood where the Court House now is, but not where M. T. Garvin's building stands. The Ross house was torn down when the present Court House was built in 1854, and Mr. Newton Lightner purchased the brick and material and removed it to Duke and Lemon streets, where he had erected a perfect counterpart of the Ross home, and lived in it until his death. Mr. Charles F. Miller now owns the property.

As George Ross, the Signer, died in 1779, Lafayette never dined with him in 1825. George Ross, Jr., son of the Signer, and who was Prothonotary of the County Courts, lived at the northwest corner of Prince and Orange streets, in a house which he rented from the widow of John Sener. It was there, in the front parlor, that Lafayette called upon him and dined with him after the reception in the

school at Prince and Chestnut. This property to-day is still in the Sener family, being owned by the heirs of the late John Sener, who died in 1864. The property was built by John Sener, who died in 1814 and has been in the family over hundred years. My grand aunt, Mrs. Eliza Miller, who died a few years ago, shook hands with Lafayette when visiting the Ross family in the old house. The newspapers of 1825 expressly define where Ross lived, and state that Lafayette dined there.

The writer asks for some information in reference to the name of the house where Lincoln stood on the balcony and made a short address on his visit to Lancaster in 1861. It is stated that it was called the Cadwell House. The writer has before him two pictures, one from Sherman Doy's "Collections of Pennsylvania History," and in it is an engraving of the first two squares of North Queen street in 1845, and there the building appears as the North American Hotel. The other picture is from Leslie's Weekly of 1847, and shows a view of James Buchanan leaving for Washington to be inaugurated, and there the building is called the "Lancaster City Exchange." Was it the Cadwell House in 1861, and did Mr. Cadwell keep it then, or did the Bar-

nitz's keep the hotel and was it the Exchange then?

S. M. S.

LOCAL HISTORIC SITES

The Recruit Guardsmen That Took the
American Name On Their Way

Memories of War

memories of living life in a camp
brought back to me by the
memories of battle. The first
and last battle that took place
was at the end of July and the
last and most severe was in the
middle of August. The first
battle was fought at the village
of Vicksburg, Mississippi, and
the second at the village of
Port Hudson, Louisiana. The
third battle was fought at the
village of New Orleans, Louisiana.
The fourth battle was fought at
the village of Mobile, Alabama.
The fifth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The sixth battle was fought at
the village of Chattanooga, Tennessee.
The seventh battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The eighth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The ninth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The tenth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The eleventh battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The twelfth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The thirteenth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The fourteenth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The fifteenth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The sixteenth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The seventeenth battle was fought at
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The eighty-ninth battle was fought at
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The ninety-first battle was fought at
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The ninety-second battle was fought at
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The ninety-third battle was fought at
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The ninety-fourth battle was fought at
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The ninety-fifth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The ninety-sixth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The ninety-seventh battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The ninety-eighth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The ninety-ninth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.
The one-hundredth battle was fought at
the village of Atlanta, Georgia.

